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War Fables Taught in American Schools

By THOMAS J. DICKSON

LIEUTENANT COLONEL, UNITED STATES ARMY; SENIOR CHAPLAIN, FIRST DIVISION IN THE WORLD WAR; CHAPLAIN GENERAL, MILITARY ORDER OF THE WORLD WAR

THERE are 107 American school histories on file in the Congressional Library and National Bureau of Education. Not one has a correct account of the great troop movements and momentous situations of the World War. I know of no mitigating circumstances to plead in defense of those who have been guilty of making false, absurd and stupid statements in print and circulating them as American school histories. Space does not permit me to cite all the errors and comment on all these 107 school books. Ten have the virtue of practically not mentioning the World War. Silence is more precious than falsehood.

The *Beginner's American History* by D. H. Montgomery tells a story about Red Cross dogs to children. It has a drawing of a nurse with a dog. The text states: "These faithful nurses were assisted by Red Cross dogs that were trained to go out and search for missing soldiers who had been so badly hurt that they could neither move nor call for help. When the dogs found such cases they would trot back and get some one to go with them and bring the poor fellow to the hospital." During the World War, from start to finish, I was constantly associated with doctors, chaplains, hospital corps men and others who

wore the army red cross brassard. Our mission was to search for and evacuate wounded soldiers and to bury the dead. I saw thousands cared for and evacuated from battlefields. I never saw one dog on the front. I have interviewed many who were with British, French and American soldiers in action trying to discover the origin of this dog story. Their judgment is the same as mine. It is false and stupid.

The same author in his *Student's American History* states that "the great German Navy—the Kaiser's pride—was delivered over to the Allies without firing a shot." The Battle of Jutland contradicts this statement. W. F. Gordy's *History of the United States* records the "deadly struggle in Belleau Wood where the battle of Chateau-Thierry was fought," although these places are about six miles apart. W. H. Mace's *Beginner's History* states: "In July the Germans struck a terrific blow at Chateau-Thierry. Without waiting for artillery, Pershing struck, and in six hours had captured as much ground as the Germans had spent six days in getting possession of." Official reports and maps show that Pershing never commanded troops in action closer than about 50 miles from Chateau-Thierry. Mace has the Germans "dumb-

founded" and the Americans charging across a river at St. Mihiel "yelling like demons." This river I am unable to locate.

Failure to keep contact with facts is responsible for many of the errors in our school histories. As a result there are "lost historians" in the Argonne Forest. They seem to place everything there except bears and lions. The facts about Argonne Forest are very simple. A 12-year-old child should be able to comprehend the entire situation. Almost the whole of the Argonne Forest was to the rear of the Allied line. A small tract, which I estimate was about three by five miles, was in front of the Allied line. The sector under the American command began at the Meuse River on the East, thence West to and through the Argonne Forest to the west side thereof, where the American line joined and was coordinated with the French command under Gouraud, whose sector extended from the west side of the Argonne Forest to Suippe. The operations map shows that the action area of Argonne Forest was taken in two days by the Liberty Division of New York and the Keystone Division of Pennsylvania. This action was a phase of the Meuse-Argonne offensive. The use of other names produces hopeless confusion. It violates the law of identity. Military parlance is very exact. A "battle" is one continuous conflict between entire armies.

To illustrate this common error let us refer to *Advanced American History* by S. E. Forman and *American History* by D. S. Muzzey. These books are used in Washington schools. The evidence is in Washington to prove or disprove a given statement. "The crowning work of the American troops," says Muzzey, "was the magnificent Argonne-Meuse drive (September-November, 1918). Twenty-one divisions, comprising 1,200,000 men, many of whom had never been in battle before, faced forty divisions of trained German troops. The scene of the conflict was the Argonne Forest, which no army had ever tried to penetrate before, and which the French officers declared impregnable." The text by Forman states: "But it was in the Argonne Forest that our boys did the hardest fighting. Here every available American division was thrown against the enemy, and every available German division was thrown in to meet them. The battle in the Argonne was beyond comparison the greatest ever fought by an American army and one of the greatest battles in the history of the world. The troops on the American side numbered 1,200,000. The battle began in the last days



LIEUT. COL. THOMAS J. DICKSON

American military chaplain who has exposed the errors in a large number of American school books

of September and continued for forty-seven days. Foot by foot all through October the American troops pushed back German divisions, destroying their morale and breaking their power." Muzzey quotes from somebody, without naming his authority, that the Americans advanced (September-November) through "incessant rain and mud and fog and penetrating cold, pushing the enemy steadily back until they reached Sedan, &c." and he also has the Americans capture some of "the Kaiser's crack regiments."

When we read these texts by Forman and Muzzey and refer to the operations map, we find that the following is being taught in our schools: There were 1,200,000 men on the American side. There were forty divisions—about 480,000 men on the German side. The Americans had at least three times as many men as the Germans. They fought for forty-seven days on a piece of ground about three by five miles. Each side used up available reserves. The Americans advanced from seven to fourteen feet per hour for forty-seven days and nights. Each American had a front fighting space of less than a quarter of an inch. Such absurdity, if not immediately corrected,

dooms us to become the laughing stock of the world!

W. B. Guitteau's *History of the United States* states that a division of regulars reached France in June, 1917, when the brigade of artillery—without cannon—did not reach France until August; that the Germans did not gain any of their objectives, which is contrary to the opinion of the military critics; that another drive of equal depth would have meant "supreme disaster" for the Allies, which is very questionable; that the French capital was in "deadly peril" at the time the Americans were between the Germans and Paris. Guitteau assigns the "place of honor" in a certain offensive to the First and Second Divisions and Moroccans and does not mention the Gordon Highlanders, equally in action. He mounts these three divisions to "the place of honor" and fails to scan the battle line and see the 3d, 4th, 26th, 28th, 32d, 42d and 77th American Divisions along with British and French divisions in various phases of the same battle action. Guitteau credits the capture of St. Mihiel to Americans, whereas it was captured by an Allied force under American command; he puts the "Wild-Cat" Division with British, when it was in Vosges mountains; he seems to credit the capture of Belleau Wood to the Marines and does not mention the services of elements of the Third and Yankee Divisions, which were in action in Belleau Wood. Guitteau finally uses about 12,000 acres of ground in demonstrating "that the American soldier with six months of training is more than a match for the German veteran."

ERRORS IN FACTS

The *First Book In American History* by C. A. Beard and W. C. Bagley states that "in May, 1917, the tramp of American soldiers was heard in France. General John J. Pershing arrived with the vanguard of a vast army that was to follow." Pershing with "a small staff" reached Paris on June 13, 1917. The same author's *History of the American People* states that the March drive "on Paris began" instead of toward Amiens; that there were four divisions of Americans at this time "ready to meet the demands of battle action," which is contradicted by official report. *History of the United States* by Thwaites and Kendall states that on June 26, 1917, the first American division landed in France and that the First Division fought near Chateau-Thierry, whereas this First Division was never in action closer than about thirty miles from

Chateau-Thierry. They state that the line "swayed back and forth." The facts are that the enemy neither cared for the wounded nor buried the dead of the First Division.

What correction can be made of statements like these found in the *United States History* by A. B. Hurlbert: "They showed that the American 'doughboy' was worth his weight in radium to France;" "Uncle Sam's khaki-colored demons who thrived so lustily on St. Mihiel;" "The Americans rushed forward at a rate roadmakers could not equal;" "The last weeks in October saw the Americans take the bit in their teeth, and lunge irresistibly onward." I do not understand these figures. They are like the statement in *The Making of Our Country* by S. Burnham that the Americans "hurled back a charge of the Prussian Guard at Chateau-Thierry," which was in the French sector, and that "never have Americans fought more gallantly than they did in June, 1918, in their first battle in France." What battle is he describing?

Historians should agree as to the inauguration of our effort. J. B. McMaster's *Brief History of the United States* states that the first shot by our men in France was Oct. 27, 1917. *Modern American Education* by W. L. Stonex states the first shot from our trenches was fired on Oct. 28. This first shot was fired Oct. 23, 1917 about 6:05 A. M. by gun No. 13579, Battery C, Sixth Field Artillery, First Division.

Every nation that had troops in action in the World War is agreed that the first German drive of March 21, 1918, was in the direction of Amiens. Thwaites and Kendall have it in the direction of Paris. James and Sanford state that it was toward the Channel ports and Paris. M. Tex states that it was on Paris. Guerber states that in the Spring of 1918 the Germans started their last great drive toward Paris. Lawler states that on July 15 the Germans made a great forward movement between Soissons and Rheims against Paris. Forman gives the date of this drive as March 28. Forman states that the first drive was a failure; a second drive also failed, and that the Germans made two more drives, but each time they were foiled. Guitteau states that the Germans did not gain any of their objectives. Pershing, in his report, writing about the second German drive, states "the Germans made another successful attack against the British lines." The official opinions of the military representatives on the Supreme War Council, as well as those of Haig, Pershing, Ely, Sergeant and

others, contradict the school book historians.

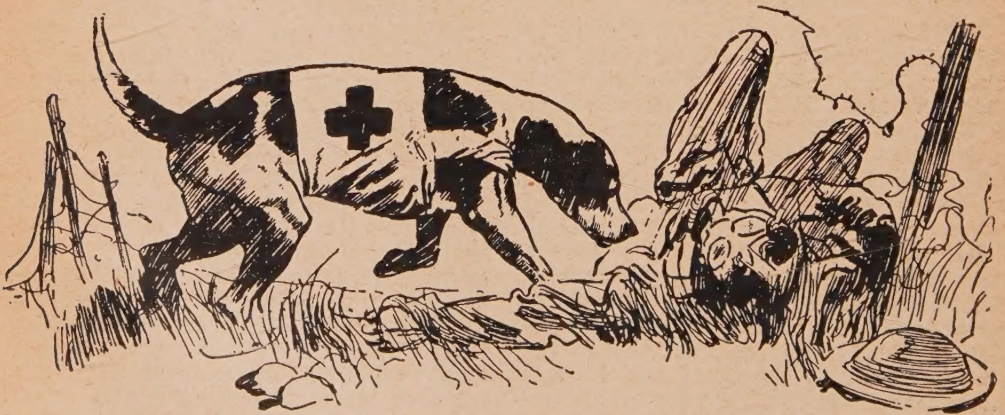
"Belleau Wood, which is called a 'battle,'" says W. S. Long in *America*, "stands for twenty-seven days and nights of continuous fighting, during which our men carried every position, smashed every counter-attack and grimly held what they had won. * * * With vim and courage that nothing could resist, they would rout the foe from a hilltop bristling with guns, dig themselves in, beat off counter-attacks by double their number, and then on to the next objective." This is largely imaginary. It does not harmonize with the official report of the Second Division. Twenty-seven days and nights is a long time to fight continuously on a piece of ground the size of Belleau Wood, which I estimate to be less than 800 acres. Long states that an all-American army was formed and its "first job was to tackle" St. Mihiel, which was an Allied operation under American command. He has regiments "fighting up from the South" meet "comrades sweeping down from the North," which makes them come from the direction of the enemy. He has whole enemy battalions rush out of deep dugouts and throw up their hands to escape annihilation and finishes "an operation of tremendous difficulty" with the capture of 16,000 prisoners in a single day, which is contradicted by the Pershing report. Long states that it is impossible to describe this battle of the Argonne, for it was a hundred battles rolled into one and that we had 52,000 on every mile. This allows each soldier a front of about one inch.

Our Country's History by Garner and Henson states that "the enemy quailed"

before the offensive of Foch on July 18! Another book, also entitled *Our Country's History*, by Haworth and Garner, uses the same words and says "the enemy quailed" before the counter-offensive of Foch on July 18. And this book was copyrighted on Dec. 10, 1926! Is it possible that Dr. James W. Garner of the University of Illinois does not know what took place on July 18, 1918? Professor E. S. Towles of the Mississippi A. and M. College is alleged to have read the proof of this book. I was in that action of July 18, 1918 and in No Man's Land. I was trying to care for the wounded and bury the dead. My mental check is that our losses were at least five times as great as that of the enemy! Ask a man who was there in action with the Gordon Highlanders, the French Moroccans and the First and Second American Divisions what is his opinion. I believe he will say that the Germans on July 18 made the most stubborn and desperate resistance in all his battle experience. That is the opinion of such men as Major Gen. Hanson E. Ely, Commandant of the Army War College, and of all who were in that action.

Wertenbaker states that the surprised Germans "resisted feebly" on July 18 near Soissons. Bourne and Benton state that the shells came so fast that the Germans thought that the Americans had "six-inch automatic howitzers," which thought never entered a German's head. Stephenson says that we played our part in a sternly retreating defense. Where? Fish states a drive "fell dead," when it fell dead enough to scare the Allies almost to death.

The wrong use of one word will ruin a



Dogs were used in carrying aid to wounded men

This picture and the legend is found in *American History*, by Perry & Price of New York City. Such dogs were not used in the World War

history. A. M. Schlesinger's *History of the United States* states that as the "German exertions came to a lull, Foch in mid-July unexpectedly launched a mighty counter-offensive." The fact is that on July 15 the Germans commenced what was their supreme effort for mastery on a seventy-mile front from about Chateau-Thierry to the Argonne Forest. The light of the guns lit the streets of Chaumont. The flashes of the guns were easily seen as far away as Paris. The sky was full of sheet lightning. It was like a concentration of many Summer thunder storms. This same author states that we succeeded against "feeble" resistance in capturing the St. Mihiel salient, whereas our offensive was planned to be so smothering and overwhelming that it is a wonder that the Germans fired a shot. The enemy resistance was so strong that our casualties were about seven thousand.

J. S. Bassett's *Short History of the United States* states that Foch massed troops on the Western side of the Marne salient, where the German line was "thinly held," and on July 18 delivered a furious onslaught that sent the invaders "reeling backward" from four to eight miles. The fact is that the German line was filled with machine guns placed as closely together as they could be served. They had great dumps of machine gun ammunition. Back of these machine guns was bank after bank of artillery. It is a wonder that a single Allied soldier reached our objective. It was here that I made a careful mental note that our casualties were at least five or six times as great as the Germans'. Bassett states that "the Second, consisting of the 27th and 30th Divisions, served with the British," but the Second Division never was with the British.

Mace's *Beginner's History* starts children with the idea that transports are convoyed by battleships. He has a drawing of two vessels which look like fruit boats surrounded by seven little nondescript vessels which I am unable to classify. Without giving the date, he states that the Americans took over 100 miles of the front. The percentage of the front held by the Americans at the end of each month in 1918 was about as follows: January, one; March, four; May, five; July, fourteen; September, eighteen; and Armistice Day, twenty-one.

M. P. Andrews's *History of the United States* states that by Nov. 7 the Americans had entered Sedan, which was in the French sector and taken by the French. He does not seem to know the mission of machine guns. He has "thousands of scientifically

protected machine gun nests arranged in rows of concrete emplacements" in the Argonne Forest. The Germans knew better than to do that. We would have instantly destroyed them with our artillery.

American History by James and Sanford has an error that is common to many histories about Pershing's placing his forces at the complete disposal of Foch on March 28. This memorandum was made in writing and signed on April 3, 1918, by Clémenteau, Pétain, Foch, Lloyd George, Haig, Wilson, Bliss and Pershing. It was confirmed by Washington on April 16. Foch was charged with the coordination of the action of the Allied armies on the Western front and the strategic direction of military operations. This agreement further provided that the Commander-in-Chief of the British, French and American Armies would exercise to the fullest extent the tactical direction of their armies. Foch was charged, subject to appeal, with the forming of projects of operation and the directing of great military movements such as selecting places for attack which in his opinion would produce the most favorable results. The tactical direction or the employment of troops in the presence of the enemy was to be exercised to the fullest extent by each Commander-in-Chief. I am not aware that this agreement was changed.

OTHER SERIOUS INACCURACIES

J. H. Latane's *History of the United States* has an interesting maneuver about the Argonne Forest which is contrary to the map of daily front lines and positions. He states that the Americans would advance east of the forest until they outflanked the Germans and then turn in and capture the artillery and machine guns. This process was repeated again and again until the forest was cleared. The *History of United States* by Hall, Smither and Ousley states that Pershing captured about 20,000 prisoners at St. Mihiel. Pershing says nearly 16,000. They say that St. Mihiel was taken in twenty-seven hours, which is contrary to Pershing's report. They say that St. Mihiel was the first strictly American attack. The first and only strictly American offensive was at Cantigny on May 28, 1918. *The Nation's History* by Leonard and Jacobs states that the American Army lost 77,118 killed and more "than 200,000 others had been taken prisoners or severely wounded." The official report of 1919 gives killed in action as 35,560; died of wounds, 14,720; severely wounded, 90,830; taken prisoners,

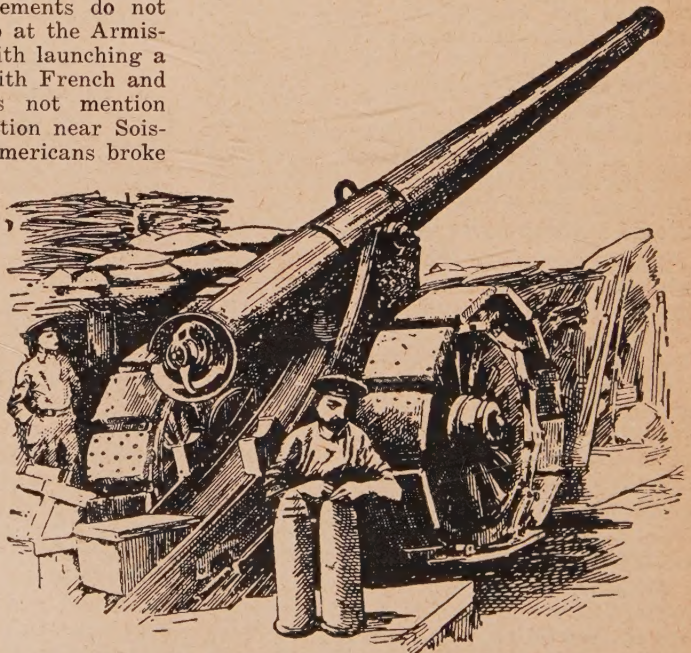
4,480. M. Tex states that "fully one-third of the Americans engaged in this (Meuse-Argonne) campaign were either killed or wounded," which should be about 10 per cent.

A HIGHLY ENDORSED BOOK

C. F. Horne's *Story of Our American People* has the highest and most notable endorsement that I have ever read. Among these distinguished personages are Senators, Admirals, Generals, Deans, Commissioners, historians, educators, artists and many women and men of affairs. The introduction states that the author "lectured on history to our soldiers as a member of the Army Educational Corps with the A. E. F. in France." The text was read wholly or in part by "over three hundred experts." In matters of art "the work has had the advantage of the general supervision of Mr. Charles Dana Gibson." The bird on the cover, the same as is on several other American school histories, looks like a Mexican eagle to me. Horne states "that our men found themselves pursuing the retreating foe out of France and across Belgium toward Germany's own borderline." "These Americans joined the Britons in pursuing the foe across Belgium, and marched in triumph into the rescued cities of Louvain and Brussels." These statements do not agree with our position map at the Armistice. Horne credits Foch with launching a mighty attack on July 18 with French and American troops and does not mention British troops equally in action near Soissons. He states that the Americans broke through the German lines and swept the foe back for miles. We took their positions but did not go through their lines. He states that our army captured St. Mihiel, which was taken by an Allied force under American command. He states that we won the "huge battle of the Argonne," which common error has been explained. He states that our army was assigned the "most desperate work of all," which was to "force our way through all the secret defenses, traps and entanglements of the Argonne Forest" without realizing that the action area was taken by

the Liberty and Keystone Divisions in two days. He has French commanders say frankly that only our dashing, reckless troops could have accomplished this.

A complete paragraph and caption from *American History* by M. Celeste reads: "St. Mihiel and Meuse-Argonne drive. The first American offensive on a large scale was the taking of the St. Mihiel salient. This freed the Allies from fear of flank attack, opened up communications with Verdun, and made the Meuse-Argonne offensive possible on the part of the Allies. The Americans had the hardest spot on the entire line between Switzerland and the North Sea. The fighting was very difficult. There was only one highway; for the rest there were rough ground, hills and thick woods. For three months the drive lasted, the Allies always successful." A detailed examination of this short paragraph will show what can be done to many American school histories. The "drive" in the caption should be four distinct drives, phases or pushes. The first and only American offensive was the taking of Cantigny. St. Mihiel was taken by an Allied force under American command. The American units were the First, Second, Fourth, Fifth, Yankee, Rainbow, All-American, Middle West and Texas and Okla-



A so-called "modern" cannon used as an illustration in Thompson's *History of the United States*. If a cannon were constructed like this it would burst at the first shot

homa Divisions. The French units were the Twenty-sixth and Thirty-ninth Divisions and the Second Dismounted Cavalry Division. A flank attack was not feared. The Germans had started to evacuate a part of the salient. The communications with Verdun were not closed. The Meuse-Argonne operation naturally followed the St. Mihiel offensive. Hard spots and difficult fighting were all along the line. I saw every kind of road usually noted on the railroad map or A. A. A. guide. Three months is a long time for a drive to last and "the Allies always successful." When a force makes a drive of even four or five miles, it is either stopped or stops itself to stabilize the line.

H. F. Estill's *Beginner's History of Our Country* has a "division of American Marines" rushed to the front in trucks and cattle cars; they "disembarked" almost upon the field of battle and hurried forward without waiting for their artillery. But there was not a division of marines in France. Marines composed less than 1 per cent. of the American force in France. N. W. Stephenson has the American flag raised over Sedan on Nov. 7, which was in the French sector and was taken by the French. E. M. Tappan's *Elementary History of Our Country* states that in the Spring of 1918 the Germans made a last furious drive but were defeated when the last German drive was started July 15. W. M. West's *History of the American People* mentions in September, "American divisions on a third part of front" when the official report gives us 18 per cent. on Sept. 30. *History of Europe* by Robinson and Beard states that United States troops played a conspicuous part in the capture of Sedan on Nov. 7. I was within sight of Sedan, which was in the French sector. We merely watched the French take the town.

TEXTBOOK EXAGGERATIONS

The United States by Kennedy and Joseph credits the Marines with the capture of Belleau Wood, when elements of the Second, Third, Yankee and French Divisions were in action in Belleau Wood. *The History of the United States* by C. H. McCarthy states that an American division on May 28 took Cantigny and "such other places indicated for them," when no other places were indicated. It calls Belleau Woods a "battle," when it has been defined by General Headquarters, A. E. F. as a "local engagement." It has us capture 26,059 in the Meuse-Argonne offensive, which should be 16,059. White's *Beginner's History of the United*

States has "Pershing's great host" of men go over the top and advance into the Argonne Forest at daybreak on Sept. 26, when they were in the forest on this date. M. S. Dickson's *American History* states that nine American divisions assisted in the battle of the Argonne, when we had twenty-one divisions in the Meuse-Argonne offensive.

I have selected C. M. Thompson's *History of the United States* as the masterpiece—a masterpiece in which romance runs riot. The writer has lines of artillerymen join hands as the last gun is fired. The intense roar dies with a gasp. Long-forgotten stillness returns. The soldiers do not know what to do. Somebody shouts and leaps out of his trench. The front of the trenches is alive with soldiers capering and waving flags. A moment before the raising of a head meant instant death. He puts mist in No Man's Land. He has German soldiers coming out of their trenches making signs of invitation. But order had been given against fraternization. The Germans moved off in accordance with the terms of the Armistice. Why quote more of these closing scenes of the World War? I was near Sedan. It did not happen that way! My artillery had been in almost constant action for about forty-two days and nights. I scarcely remember what happened. But I will remember forever the faces of our men. They had passed through a valley of constant shadow. We had been too near the Great White Throne to talk. The men—officers and all—dropped on the ground. The fiber of the last nerve had snapped. The faces of the few remaining horses spoke volumes. Our men gazed and gazed on desolation. They gazed into space. They gazed across France. Across the ocean. They gazed down to earth from whence they came. No strand could stay their affinity! Their gaze followed the sun as far as it goes to the West. Yes; they gazed down to earth and upon almost every spot on this earth. They wondered. They pondered. How long will it be before that Dearest Spot of all the earth to me will know: I live! They asked each other in whispers: I wonder what we do next?

A school history of the World War must be brief—almost as brief as the Story of Creation. It must be simple—almost as simple as The Lord's Prayer. A fact, told as a fact, carries a charm that inspires childhood. I have had the children in ward schools easily comprehend even my crotchety attempts to make plain the momentous situations and great troop movements of the World War.

A Revised Verdict on Guilt of Nations for the World War

By HARRY ELMER BARNES

PROFESSOR OF HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY, SMITH COLLEGE, HISTORIAN OF THE WORLD WAR

I—REVISIONISM FULLY VINDICATED

WHEN the writer published his preliminary article on war responsibility, entitled "Assessing the Blame for the World War," in *CURRENT HISTORY* for May, 1924, there was a highly diversified response on the part of readers. Some viewed it as both premature and unpardonably extreme in its espousal of revisionism. Such persons predicted that the position taken here would be speedily overthrown by the subsequent publication of relevant documents, with a corresponding disintegration of the status of the author as an authority in this field. Others of equal eminence took the position that the *CURRENT HISTORY* article was in reality marred by a straining for moderation and the desire to avoid shocking too severely the minds of those accustomed to the views of war guilt embodied in the Entente Epic. This group contended that a much more decisive stand could be taken on the basis of evidence already available and prophesied that, with the publication of further docu-

ments, the point of view adopted by the author would soon come to be looked upon as an example of archaic "pussy-footing."

Both of these attitudes were, of course, to some extent wish-fulfillments, and nobody could at the time be absolutely certain as to exactly how far subsequent research and documentary revelations would advance or deflate the standpoint of revisionism. We are now in a position to appraise such reactions, and it must be confessed that even the most stalwart supporter of the revisionist position in 1924 could scarcely have expected to have his viewpoint so rapidly and convincingly confirmed and extended as it has been by the progress of research and exposition in this field in the last three years. In the following pages we shall attempt to assess the advances which have been made since January, 1924, with respect to the question of responsibility for the World War, and will indicate the bearing of this upon the contemporary international situation in Europe.

II—THE NEW DOCUMENTARY MATERIAL

We may discuss in the first place the documentary and literary basis for the progress of knowledge in war responsibility since the beginning of 1924. The new documentary material should first be summarized. In this category of publications first place must undoubtedly be assigned to the completion of the great German set, *Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette, 1871-1914: Sammlung der Diplomatischen Akten des Auswärtigen Amtes*.¹ In thirty-nine volumes this represents the publication of all the important documents in the German Foreign Office in the period since the Franco-Prussian war. An admirable guide to the collection has been provided by Dr. Schwertfeger.² In connection with the

Kautsky documents and the documents assembled through the Reichstag Inquiry at the close of the war, this collection places Germany's case before the world and challenges the other Powers to do likewise and let the world judge of their relative responsibility for the calamity of 1914. It need scarcely be pointed out that no other European State has picked up the gauntlet.

Next to the German publications for volume and significance must be placed the new collections of Russian documents. The two-volume collection by René Marchand, known as the *Livre Noir*, and the Siebert documents were already available by 1923. Since then Dr. Friedrich Stieve has compiled a very scholarly edition of Russian material from 1910 to 1917 in some five volumes, which embody chiefly the correspondence between Izvolski and Sazonov, though there are many significant memoranda and the minutes of very important

¹See the comments on the *Grosse Politik* in the *Kriegsschuldfrage* for December, 1926; and in *Im Dienste der Wahrheit*, published by the Arbeitsausschuss Deutscher Verbände, 1927.

²*Die diplomatischen Akten des Auswärtigen Amtes, 1871-1914.*

Crown Councils.³ Dr. Stieve has also published a collection of Russian documents bearing upon the outbreak of the war with Turkey in 1914.⁴ Much more extensive is an eighteen-volume collection of Russian documents (with many more in preparation) known as the *Red Archives*, issued in Russian since 1922 under the editorship of Professor E. A. Adamov.⁵ On the immediate crisis of 1914 Alfred von Wegerer has published an excellent edition of the Russian *Orange Book*, prepared on the basis of the complete Russian documents for the period of 1914.⁶ This supersedes Baron Romberg's earlier edition.

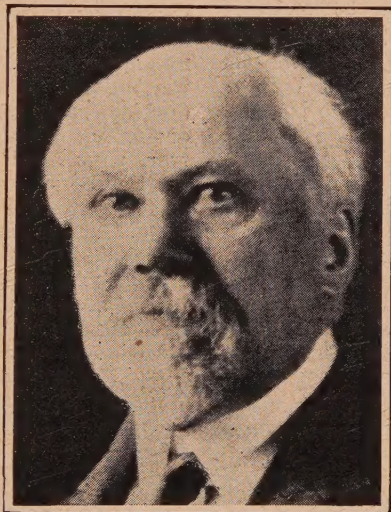
The proposal of the British Government to publish an eleven-volume collection of documents dealing with British policy from 1898 to 1914 ranks next to the German and Russian enterprises.⁷ One volume, the last in the chronological series—that on the crisis of 1914—was published at the close of 1926, and others will follow steadily. The names of the editors, George Peabody Gooch and Harold Temperley, give assurance that the level of scholarship and honesty in the work of selection and publication will be unusually high.

There is little doubt that Austria would have quickly followed in the wake of Germany in publishing her documents since 1867 had it not been for the fact that an arrangement entered into in connection with the Treaty of St. Germain forbade Austria to publish any of the documents in her Foreign Office touching upon the diplomacy of the Succession States except with the consent of such States. As none of the Succession States—namely Italy, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Ru-

mania—have given this consent, it means that there is little probability of our getting a full collection of the documents on Austro-Hungarian foreign policy for a long time to come. Dr. Goos had to hasten to compile the Austrian *Red Book* before the ban went into effect. For the time being we shall have to content ourselves with the

scholarly but very incomplete collection recently published by Professor Pribram. Much documentary material of particular value in indicating the influence of the military party on Austrian foreign policy in the years before the war is contained in Conrad von Hötzendorf's voluminous memoirs.⁸

Some documents of importance have appeared bearing on the international relations of the lesser countries. Colonel Bernhard Schwertfeger has prepared an admirable five-volume collection of Belgian documents on the period since 1885.⁹ On the background of the plot to assassinate Franz Ferdinand and on the important matter of the



RAYMOND POINCARÉ
President of the French Republic at
the outbreak of the war; now Prime
Minister

complicity of the Serbian Government in the plot, by all means the most important collection of documents is contained in a Serbian work entitled *Secret Subversive Organizations*. It contains the testimony taken at the notorious Saloniki trial of 1917. Recognizing the compromising nature of this material, the Serbian Government did its best to call in and destroy all copies, but Dr. Bogitshevich managed to obtain a copy which he has digested all too briefly in his *Procès de Salonique*. Moreover, we have the memoir of Ljuba Jovanovitch, proving that the Serbian civil Government knew about the plot several weeks before June 28, 1914, and the memoirs of Jevtic, describing the relations of Bosnian nationalism to the anti-Austrian agitation.

France and Italy, the two major European countries that participated in the great war, have not yet made any move toward

³*Der diplomatische Schriftwechsel Iswolskis, 1911-1914* (4 Vols.); Iswolski im Weltkriege.

⁴*Das Russische Orangebuch über den Kriegsausbruch mit der Türkei.*

⁵See the excellent summary of this material in the *European Economic and Political Survey*, March 15, 1927, pp. 353-73.

⁶*Das Russische Orangebuch von 1914.*

⁷*British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914*; cf. G. P. Gooch, *Recent Revelations of European Diplomacy*, pp. 165-6.

⁸*Aus meiner Dienstzeit, 1906-1918*, 5 vols.

⁹*Die Belgischen Dokumente zur Vorgeschichte des Weltkrieges, 1885-1914*, 5 vols.

a full and honest publication of their documents on the pre-war years. The French *Yellow Books* on the Franco-Russian Alliance and on Balkan Affairs are carefully selected and extremely scanty on the crucial period from 1912-1914. Alfred von Wegerer has prepared a new edition of the French *Yellow Book* on the crisis of 1914, indicating many important omissions and alterations which we can already detect without the complete French publications. A tremendous indictment of the official lies and falsifications in the French *Yellow Book* has been drawn by Georges Demartial.¹⁰ The *British Documents* also indicate a number of falsifications in the French *Yellow Book*. Poincaré continues to complain bitterly that he was misrepresented by Izvolski¹¹ but it is significant that he has not attempted to clear himself by a full publication of the French documents. Our most important documentary material on Italy is still to be found in the Pribram collection on the Triple Alliance and in the Soviet publications dealing with the dicker-

ings with Italy concerning Italy's entry into the World War.¹² The nature and extent of this new material on contemporary European diplomatic history have been conveniently and brilliantly summarized by Dr. G. P. Gooch in his *Recent Revelations of European Diplomacy*.

Perhaps the most important thing which we can say about the documents published since 1923 is that in no important way have they softened the indictment of the Entente. On the other hand, they have notably strengthened the revisionist case, particularly with respect to the guilt of Serbia, France and Russia. While not demonstrating a British desire for a European war, they have dethroned Grey from the position of an ardent but misinformed toiler for European peace. Further, the complete German documents have completely demolished the old thesis that Germany was chiefly responsible for the European system of secret and aggressive diplomacy, for militarism, and for forcing war in 1914.¹³

¹⁰L'Évangile du Quai d'Orsay, 1926.

¹¹Foreign Affairs (American), October, 1925, p. 10; see also *The Memoirs of Raymond Poincaré*.

¹²A. F. Pribram, *The Secret Treaties of Austria-Hungary*, 2 vols.; *L'Intervento dell'Italia nei documenti segreti dell'Intesa*.

¹³Cf. Sidney B. Fay, in *Die Kriegsschuldfrage*, December, 1926, pp. 900-903.

III—WAR GUILT LITERATURE SINCE 1923

A number of very important books dealing with the responsibility for the World War have been published since January, 1924. Hermann Oncken has compiled a monumental three volume work on the background of the Franco-Prussian War which forever destroys the myth that France was the surprised and unwilling victim of an aggressive and intriguing Prussia. It can no longer be alleged that France was justified in 1914 by the legitimate aspiration to avenge herself for the unprovoked assault of 1870.¹⁴ The distinguished Dutch scholar, N. Japikse, has brought out the best work on the relation of Bismarck to European peace.¹⁵ It is based upon a thorough knowledge of the *Grosse Politik*, and shows that whatever policy Bismarck may have pursued prior to 1871, from that time onward his diplomatic efforts were devoted to the maintenance of pacific relations between the States of Europe. Otto Hammann and Erich Brandenburg have analyzed German foreign policy since Bis-

marck's time.¹⁶ While not in any sense whitewashing Germany in regard to her part in the mutual responsibility for the European system which made war possible, they prove with great decisiveness the futility of the old charge that Germany was persistently and secretly plotting for war from the time of the accession of William II. With the possible exception of the work of Professor Gooch, it is probably safe to say that no other book equals that of Brandenburg for scholarly mastery of facts and moderation of tone. Miss Mildred Wertheimer has executed the definitive study of the Pan-German League and has shown that its noisy chauvinism was in no sense inspired by the German Imperial Government and had little, if any, direct influence upon it.¹⁷ Friedrich Stieve has not only written an excellent summary of the significance of the *Grosse Politik* for the period since 1890, but has also produced the most complete and authoritative study of Franco-Russian diplomacy from 1911 to

¹⁴*Die Rheinpolitik Kaiser Napoleons III*, 3 vols.

¹⁵N. Japikse, *Europa en Bismarck's Vredespolitiek*, Leyden, 1925.

¹⁶O. Hammann, *The World Policy of Germany, 1890-1912*; E. Brandenburg, *From Bismarck to the World War*.

¹⁷M. S. Wertheimer, *The Pan-German League, 1890-1914*.

1914.¹⁸ On the latter subject his treatment should be compared with Poincaré's attempted defense in the first three volumes of his memoirs. A number of Russians from the old régime have recently contributed a book designed to prove that Russian interests were prostituted to the aggressive aims of France by the diplomacy of Delcassé and Poincaré, aided and abetted by Izvolski.¹⁹ A more discriminating appraisal of the evidence along this line has been made on the basis of Russian memoirs by Gunther Frantz.²⁰ By all odds the best summary of the diplomatic history of the decade before the outbreak of the World War was provided by G. Lowes Dickinson.²¹

NEW WORKS ON CRISIS OF 1914

On the immediate crisis of July, 1914, several books of comprehensive scope have been written since the beginning of 1924: Alfred Fabre-Luce's *La Victoire*; Mathias Morhardt's *Les Preuves*; Victor Margueritte's *Les Criminels*; Pierre Renouvin's *Les Origines immédiates de la Guerre*; *The Genesis of the World War*, by the present writer, and Alberto Lumbroso's *Le Origini economiche e diplomatiche della guerra mondiale*. Fabre-Luce presents a very judicious summary of the facts in the period from 1870 to 1914 and an excellent analysis of the crisis. Morhardt's book is a severe indictment of Poincaré as the instigator of the trouble in 1914, and the work is historically important in the war guilt literature as the first general book on war origins to puncture the myth of a "poor and innocent little Serbia," about to be ruthlessly trampled under foot by the Habsburg giant. Margueritte's work is a very able presentation of revisionism by a distinguished author. He espouses the viewpoint of divided guilt, but severely indicts Poincaré. Renouvin's book is the classic statement of the case for France, and is comparable to the book by Montgelas from the German side. It represents a wide departure from the typical French apologia of the war period. Lumbroso's book stresses economic factors and emphasizes here the

responsibility of England. Mention should also be made here of J. F. Scott's excellent study of European newspaper opinion from June to August, 1914.²²

A number of special studies on the events of the Summer of 1914 have appeared in the last three years. Miss Edith Durham and Professor S. B. Fay have gathered the evidence against the Serbian Government in connection with the intrigues against Austria and the plot to assassinate the Archduke,²³ while R. W. Seton-Watson has weakly endeavored to defend Serbia by reviving the war-time propaganda against Austria and by suggesting who might have shot Franz Ferdinand if he had not been shot as the result of a Black Hand plot directed from Belgrade.²⁴ Of great importance are the studies of Dr. M. Bogitshevich on the relation of Russia and Serbia to the assassination plot, based in particular upon the vitally relevant evidence taken at the Saloniki trials and then suppressed.²⁵ Little of importance has been written since the close of 1923 on Austria's part in the events of July, 1914. Heinrich Kanner's effort to show that Austria was favorable to a World War though her policy in 1914 was due chiefly to German initiative has been completely riddled by Count Montgelas and Professor Fay.²⁶ The facts about Germany and her part in the crisis were perfectly clear by 1924, so that no one has since deemed it necessary to compile any comprehensive monographs on this subject.

With respect to Russia two works of permanent value have been published. The most indispensable is Frantz's *Russlands Eintritt in den Weltkrieg*, which is the authoritative analysis of the Russian preparation for war and military measures in 1914 showing their primary influence upon Russian diplomacy.²⁷ Baron Schilling's diary on the progress of events and policies in the Russian Foreign Office in July, 1914, is of high importance for diplomatic details,

²²J. F. Scott, *Five Weeks: The Surge of Public Opinion on the Eve of the Great War*.

²³M. E. Durham, *The Sarajevo Crime*, "The Sarajevo Murder Plot," in *Current History*, February, 1927. See also the brilliant articles by Professor Fay in *Current History*, October-November, 1925.

²⁴R. W. Seton-Watson, *Sarajevo*.

²⁵Published for the most part in the *Kriegsschuldfrage*, 1924-1927. Many are reprinted along with new material in his *Le Procès de Salonique*.

²⁶See M. Montgelas in the *Revue de Hongrie*, Nov. 15, 1926; *Current History*, April, 1927; S. B. Fay, in *American Historical Review*, January, 1927, pp. 317-19.

²⁷S. B. Fay, in *American Historical Review*, April, 1925, pp. 645-6.

¹⁸F. Stieve, *Deutschland und Europa, 1890-1914*; Izvolsky and the World War.

¹⁹*Les Alliés contre la Russie*, with a foreword by Victor Margueritte. Forthcoming studies by Professor W. L. Langer on Russian diplomacy from 1904 to 1912 completely refute the Russian thesis of French initiative and show Russian diplomacy much more aggressive and menacing than the French by January, 1912, whatever the case in July, 1914.

²⁰G. Frantz, *Russland auf dem Wege zur Katastrophe*.

²¹G. L. Dickinson, *The International Anarchy*, 1904-14.

particularly the steps in securing the final order for general mobilization on the 30th of July.²⁸ As bearing upon France in 1914, by all odds the most important work of the last three years is Georges Demartial's *L'Evangile du Quai d'Orsay*. This entirely demolishes the Franco-British legend of 1914 by revealing at length the official French lies and falsifications, particularly with reference to the priority of the Franco-Russian military activities, and by showing how these falsifications were ruthlessly used to deceive French, British and Italian public opinion and secure support for the policy of war.²⁹ The other work of real value is Ernest Judet's edition of the diaries of Georges Louis, which are illuminating for both pre-war diplomacy and the crisis of 1914.³⁰

In regard to the part of England in helping on the World War we have the most notable special monograph which has been contributed to the study of the outbreak of the conflict, namely, Hermann Lutz's *Lord Grey and the World War*.³¹ It is exhaustive in its scholarship and the author is so fair to Britain as to lean over backwards in spots. Less voluminous but somewhat more keenly analytical and critical is the brief but penetrating commentary of Count Montgelas, constructed from his articles in the *Kriegsschuldfrage*.³² In America we still lack anything approaching a thorough and up-to-date study of the entry of the United States into the World War, though much of value is contained in Judge Bausman's straightforward book, *Facing Europe*.

IMPORTANT MEMOIRS

A number of rather important memoirs have made their appearance in this same period. Of these the most widely read is *Twenty-five Years*, by Sir Edward Grey.³³ This work is of high literary merit and reveals a personality of real charm. As diplomatic history the book has the flavor of absolute authority and impeccable fairness to those unfamiliar with the facts involved, but, as Count Montgelas and

others have shown, perhaps no other serious historical work can be more easily or completely riddled as to both facts and interpretation. Both this work and the British documents, however, reveal Grey to have been the victim of well-intentioned incompetence and ignorance rather than a person of malicious intent. M. Raymond Poincaré has published the first three volumes of what will, if completed, constitute a very voluminous apologia.³⁴ The first three volumes do little to clear the author from the indictment drawn against him by his fellow-countrymen. For the most part the points on which he convicts Izvolski or his critics of error are of a very trivial character, while he either ignores the vital charges or fails to refute them.

The third volume of Mr. Page's letters have appeared and indicate that Page's divergence from his home Government and his espousal of the Entente cause grew progressively greater down to the time when we entered the war. In the Winter of 1915-16 he even refused to cooperate with Colonel House in putting Mr. Wilson's plan for peace or war before the English in an effective fashion. Colonel House's memoirs, while by no means as popular as the Page letters, are far more sane and moderate, and do much to dissipate the mythology about the unique militarism of Germany in 1914.³⁵ In general, House's observations on the state of European international relations in the Spring of 1914 tally very well with the facts which the revisionist historians have established upon the basis of painstaking investigation of the diplomatic documents of this period. It becomes evident, however, that House acted in a rather irresponsible fashion, having far more to do with the shaping of American foreign policy in this period than the Secretary of State. This attitude and conduct were, however, either approved or connived at by President Wilson.

The Kaiser has now begun the compilation of his memoirs in serious fashion.³⁶ The first volume, dealing with the period prior to his accession to the throne, has just appeared. If completed the set will have much value for diplomatic history, as the Kaiser was personally acquainted with nearly every potentate and diplomat of importance in the last generation and he pos-

²⁸M. F. Schilling, *How the War Began in 1914*.

²⁹See the excellent summary by Max Montgelas in the *Kriegsschuldfrage* for April, 1927.

³⁰E. Judet, *Georges Louis; Les Carnets de Georges Louis*, 2 vols.

³¹See the review by W. L. Langer in the *New York Nation*, 1927.

³²To be published in English under the title: *British Foreign Policy Under Sir Edward Grey*.

³³See the critical analysis by Count Montgelas in the *Kriegsschuldfrage*, May-July, 1926.

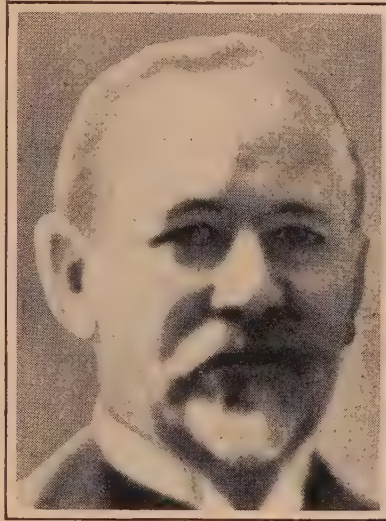
³⁴*Au Service de la France*. Three volumes in French have been published thus far. An English translation is appearing, entitled *The Memoirs of M. Raymond Poincaré*.

³⁵See the searching review by O. G. Villard, in *New York Nation*, April 14, 1926.

³⁶Volume I, *Aus Meinem Leben, 1859-1888*.

sesses a remarkable memory. The memoirs of Count Berchtold are now promised, and we may look forward with anticipation to what the former Austrian Foreign Minister can bring forward in extenuation of the position he took in 1914.³⁷ He is more or less completely vindicated by the material published on Serbia since 1922, but it will not be so easy to justify a stand taken in 1914 in the light of facts that were not fully revealed until nearly ten years later. Count Julius Andrassy's *Bismarck, Andrassy and Their Successors* is now available in English and gives us the views of a distinguished Hungarian on developments from 1871 to 1905. In a second volume the treatment will extend to the close of the war. Having used the *Grosse Politik* this work is less anti-German than his earlier books.

An increasing amount of periodical space is now being devoted to the question of responsibility for the World War. Four important journals are devoted exclusively to the subject. The foremost is the *Kriegsschuldfrage*, edited by Alfred von Wegerer in Berlin. It has rendered an enormous service to



M. IZVOLSKI
Russian Ambassador in Paris at the
outbreak of the World War

the cause of truth by its critical and expository articles and by its reprinting of new, obscure and important documents. In France there are two journals. *Evolution*, founded by Victor Margueritte and edited by Armand Charpentier, is in tone opposed to the official French view of war responsibility and provides the forum for the more notable critics of Poincaré and the war

mythology, such as Demartial, Morhardt, Dupin, Marchand, Lazare and others, as well as many distinguished foreign writers. The other French journal is the *Revue d'histoire de la Guerre Mondiale*, edited by Pierre Renouvin. It aims to support the official French apology in so far as is consistent with self-respecting scholarship. In Holland Dr. N. Japikse edits *The Journal of the Netherlands Commission for the Investigation of the Causes of the World War*. A number of journals, such as the *Revue de Hongrie*, *Europäische Gespräche*, the *Nuova Revista Storica*, *Der Weg zur Freiheit*, the *London Foreign Affairs*, *Current History*,

the *New York Nation* and the *New Republic*, devote much space to the war guilt issue. Of these *Current History* may easily claim first place in importance.

IV—WAR RESPONSIBILITY OF SEVERAL POWERS

1. FRANCO-RUSSIAN DIPLOMACY, 1912-14

The facts revealed by the *Livre Noir* as to the plans of Izvolski and Poincaré to prepare for a European war which was to be precipitated at the right time over an appropriate crisis in the Balkans have not in any sense been refuted by the publications issued since 1924. On the contrary, the indictment has been extended and substantiated, particularly by the new documents in the Stieve collection and by Dr. Stieve's admirable analysis in his book on Izvolski and the World War. Poincaré has devoted himself to the effort to demolish these charges in the first three volumes

of his memoirs, but he has been entirely unsuccessful.³⁸ He has proved Izvolski to be wrong in regard to certain details, but nowhere in real essentials. If he has failed it may well be doubted if anybody can succeed. The most that can be said for him has been stated by Professor Fay, who frankly admits that Poincaré worked for war and made war inevitable, but holds that he may have done so because he felt that war could not be avoided and hence should be undertaken under the most advantageous circumstances for France and

³⁸See A. Fabre-Luce, in *Europe*, April 15, 1926; and H. E. Barnes, in *New York Nation*, June 15, 1927.

³⁷Announced by Macmillan under the title *Count Berchtold's Story*.

Russia.³⁹ The most damaging evidence against this benign interpretation is Poincaré's own admission in 1912 that Germany was insistent upon rapprochement with France, but that this was out of the question short of the return of Alsace and Lorraine.⁴⁰ The attitude of Germany toward France from 1871 to 1914 is best summarized by the brilliant French publicist, Alfred Fabre-Luce, in the following words:⁴¹

"In short, with variations in their tactics, the Germans consistently aimed at reconciliation until 1913, when, finding all their proposals rejected, they were persuaded that France wanted war, and turned their whole attention to strengthening their armaments to insure their defence."

Until the French permit a full publication of their diplomatic documents on the scale of the German, Russian or British enterprises, we must view with a fishy eye all pretensions to French innocence and all French charges of exploitation or misrepresentation by Russian diplomats. An eminent authority, who has just been reading extensively through the *Red Archives*, has suggested to the writer that he believes that Poincaré, while always desirous of regaining Alsace-Lorraine, was transformed into an advocate of war by his visit to St. Petersburg in 1912. He believes that Poincaré was so astonished at this time by the extent and duration of the Russian plans in regard to the Near East that he resolved that France must plunge in boldly if she was to gain anything from her participation in the Franco-Russian Alliance.

2. SERBIA AND THE ASSASSINATION OF FRANZ FERDINAND

The precious wartime legend of a "poor, innocent little Serbia," who bravely defied extinction by the brutal and unprovoked Habsburg bully, was dealt a staggering blow as early as 1923 by the revelation that the plot was laid and executed by the Chief of the Intelligence Division of the Serbian General Staff, and that one of his two chief lieutenants, Milan Tsiganovitch, was a Government employe and a confidant of Premier Pashitch of Serbia.⁴² Still there was little to implicate the Serbian Government in any direct fashion. In the

last three years the revelations as to Serbian guilt in the Archduke's assassination have been truly amazing.

In 1924, in a volume celebrating the tenth anniversary of the outbreak of the World War, which had brought to realization the Serbian aims for a Great Serbia, Ljuba Jovanovitch, Minister of Education in the 1914 Serbian Cabinet, revealed how the Cabinet members had been told about the assassination plot by Premier Pashitch at least three weeks before its execution. He admitted, also, that nothing was done to stop the plotters, and no adequate warning passed on to Austria.⁴³ The only semblance of a warning lay in the hint passed on by the Serbian Minister at Vienna to the Austrian Minister in charge of Bosnian affairs, to the effect that if Franz Ferdinand went to Sarajevo some Bosnian soldier might substitute a ball cartridge for a blank one. It is doubtful whether even this misleading apology for a warning ever reached the Austrian court or Foreign Office.⁴⁴

This revelation by Jovanovitch was a body blow to those who, like R. W. Seton-Watson, "the Father of Yugoslavia," had been steadily maintaining the innocence of the Serbs.⁴⁵ For more than two years thereafter Seton-Watson publicly and privately urged his friend, N. Pashitch, to issue a denial of the truth of Jovanovitch's assertion. The best he could do, however, was to get the veteran Premier to state that he gave out the information informally before the Cabinet meeting had been called to order, so that it was not technically true that he had told a Cabinet meeting about the plot.⁴⁶ This was, of course, scarcely satisfactory to Seton-Watson, and in despair he endeavored to aid his friends by the method of obscurity. He wrote a considerable book in which he reshaped the wartime fictions about the baseness of Austria-Hungary, and then offered much material on the subject of the many persons or groups who might sometime or somewhere have shot Franz Ferdinand if he had not been killed by a member of the Black Hand who was executing a plot directed from Belgrade.⁴⁷ There thus

³⁹L. Jovanovitch, *The Murder of Serajevo*.

⁴⁰M. Edith Durham, *The Serajevo Crime*, pp. 148-157.

⁴¹See H. W. Nevins, in the *New York Nation*, Feb. 16, 1927; and R. W. Seton-Watson, in *Foreign Affairs*, April, 1925.

⁴²See brief summary in *Current History*, February, 1927, p. 662; and *Kriegsschuldfrage*, January, 1927, pp. 58-60.

⁴³See my comments on his book in the *Revue de Hongrie*, April 15, 1927.

³⁹S. B. Fay, in *New Republic*, Dec. 8, 1926.

⁴⁰M. Montgelas, *The Case for the Central Powers*, p. 52.

⁴¹A. Fabre-Luce, *The Limitations of Victory*, pp. 101-2.

⁴²S. Stanojevitch, *Die Ermordung des Erzherzogs Franz Ferdinand*.

passed automatically and ignominiously from the scene of war guilt controversy the man who had boasted that he would make short work of Professor Fay and Miss Durham once he got down to serious work on the Serbian matter.⁴⁸

During the past Winter Jotza Jovanovitch, Serbian Minister to Vienna in 1914, has attempted to clear his country by stating that there were actually two plots in 1914. The one which Pashitch uncovered and announced to the Cabinet was frustrated, but the other, of which Pashitch was ignorant, was carried out. This is the most transparent nonsense, as we know that the plot referred to by Ljuba Jovanovitch was the one which actually led to the assassination of the Archduke. Further, if anything of this kind had been the case it would have been revealed to Seton-Watson while he was fretfully languishing about Belgrade for months awaiting extenuating information in behalf of the Serbs. Documents which were seized by the Austrians when they occupied Serbia during the World War and have just been examined by Miss Durham and others show conclusively that the activities of the "Black Hand" in Bosnia were both inspired and directed from Belgrade.⁴⁹ Within the last three years we have also discovered conclusive evidence that the Serbian royal family was cognizant of and fully supported the work of the "Black Hand." Both the King and the Crown Prince were aware of the plot in 1914.⁵⁰

RUSSIAN AID IN SARAJEVO PLOT

The full complicity of the Serbian Government, civil and military, in the assassination plot is now established beyond the shadow of doubt, and Dimitrijevitich has now become the chief Serbian hero, next to Karageorge himself, with Printsip, the third member of the trinity. Beyond this stands the even more momentous and spectacular problem of the possible collaboration of the Russians with the Serbians in this matter. There seems to be little ground for the assertion of some writers that Russia actually instigated the plot.⁵¹

On the other hand, there is almost conclusive evidence that certain Russians knew of the plot in advance, approved of it, and gave assurance of Russian support. The question is an important one, because if it can be shown that the Russians approved of the assassination and promised protection to the accomplices of the assassins, then the whole question of war responsibility may be allowed to rest at this point, with Serbia and Russia the primary and original culprits.

Of one thing we are certain, namely, that Colonel Dimitrijevitich, who directed the assassination plot, worked in collusion with Artamanov, the Russian military attaché in Belgrade, and with the knowledge of Hartwig, the Russian Minister in Belgrade. These two men were aware of the plot long in advance of the 28th of June, 1914, and either they did not inform their home Government, or else the Russians did not attempt to block the conspiracy.⁵² What is the evidence that Russians in Paris and St. Petersburg were aware of the plot in advance? Robert Dell inclines to the belief that Izvolski was aware of the plot because of the nature of a communication to Izvolski from the King of Serbia shortly after the assassination.⁵³ It has been stated from a number of independent Serbian sources that, before he consented to send the assassins to Bosnia, Dimitrijevitich secured a Russian promise of protection for Serbia against Austria in the event of an Austrian attack.⁵⁴ Miss Durham believes that the evidence indicates that certainly the Russian General Staff knew of the plot and approved of it.⁵⁵ In June, 1914, Sazonov and the Czar visited Rumania, and while there Sazonov inquired as to the probable attitude of the Rumanians in the event of complications growing out of Franz Ferdinand's impending visit to Sarajevo—certainly a most interesting coincidence!⁵⁶ Whatever the ultimate outcome of research in this field, it is obvious that the legend of "poor little Serbia" is gone forever, and that we have a much different basis for judging the acts and

⁴⁸He vigorously attacked Professor Fay at the Richmond meeting of the American Historical Association in December, 1924; and Miss Durham in the *Slavonic Review*, December, 1926.

⁴⁹"The Sarajevo Murder Plot," in *Current History*, February, 1926.

⁵⁰This was confirmed to me by members of the Black Hand in 1926. See articles in the *Kriegsschuldfrage*, July and September, 1926.

⁵¹R. Dell, in *London Nation*, Sept. 19, 1925, p. 723.

⁵²See Victor Serge in *Clarté*, May, 1925; Bogitshevich, *Le Procès de Salonique*; M. E. Durham, *The Sarajevo Crime*, pp. 197-99. The prior knowledge of Artamanov and Hartwig in regard to the plot was reaffirmed to the writer by members of the Black Hand in 1926.

⁵³Dell, *Loc. cit.*

⁵⁴References as in footnote 52. This fact was also stated to me by the above-mentioned Serbians. See *Clarté*, p. 210.

⁵⁵M. E. Durham, *The Sarajevo Crime*, p. 201.

⁵⁶There is a good account of the Rumanian visit in the *Kriegsschuldfrage* for July, 1926.

policies of the Austrian and Serbian leaders in 1914.

3. THE CASE OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

As the research into the question of war responsibility from 1919 to 1923 resulted in a distinct improvement of the case of Germany before the world, so in the last three years the indictment of Austria has been notably softened. There apparently can be little change in the picture as established by 1924, namely, that Austria was determined to wage a punitive war against Serbia, and that her ultimatum was merely a diplomatic subterfuge resorted to in order to reduce the probability of bringing in Russia and precipitating a general European war. It should be pointed out, however, that prominent Austrians vigorously deny this interpretation. In the Summer of 1926 the present writer listened to Dr. Friedrich von Wiesner as he stated at length to a group of experts on war responsibility that, between the 19th and the 23d of July, 1914, the Austrians had decided that they would remain satisfied with complete Serbian acceptance of the ultimatum. He further stated that the ultimatum, as finally drawn up, was so formulated, not in the hope of bringing about a Serbian refusal of certain sections, but because the conditions laid down appeared to be the minimum which would guarantee Austria safety from the Serbian menace.

Our present-day knowledge of the nature and extent of the Serbian plots and intrigues, supplied in part by the courageous Serbian diplomat and scholar, Dr. M. Boghitchevich,⁵⁷ furnishes an adequate foundation for the belief that with Austria it was either a case: (1) of acquiescence in gradual extinction; (2) of securing Serbian consent to the ultimatum; or (3) of war against Serbia. This view is sustained by the opinions expressed in 1914 by both De Bunsen, the British Ambassador in Vienna, and Dumaine, the French Ambassador in Vienna.⁵⁸ In other words, it is becoming progressively more difficult to show how any country in the position of Austria in 1914 could have accepted anything less than war or Serbian acquiescence in the ultimatum.

If war upon Serbia was necessary, in case Serbia did not submit to the ulti-

matum, the main point in regard to Austrian guilt in bringing on the World War relates to the question as to whether Austria proceeded to prepare for a possible war against Serbia in a manner least likely to provoke general hostilities. It can no longer be doubted that Austria took the most elaborate precautions to make possible her execution of a punitive war without at the same time precipitating a European war. Her diplomats, particularly upon the insistence of Tisza, rejected the plan of the military party for an immediate invasion of Serbia, in favor of a long delayed diplomatic ultimatum which actually gave the Entente the advantage of time in laying plans as to how to subject the Central Powers to a diplomatic humiliation or the test of arms.⁵⁹ The recently published British documents show how, on July 16, before the ultimatum was finally shaped, the Austrians sent out two "feelers" to Great Britain implying that Austria was contemplating severe action against Serbia. The English responses were such as led even the Russians to regard them as a distinct encouragement to Austria to go ahead with her plans.⁶⁰ Like Germany, Austria then counted upon British neutrality and believed, probably correctly, that Russia and France would not wage war without assurance of British support. In order to try to prevent Poincaré and the Russian firebrands from deciding upon war before Poincaré left St. Petersburg, Austria delayed the submission of her ultimatum to Serbia until after Poincaré had sailed from Russia.⁶¹ On the 27th, before declaring war on Serbia, after Serbia had rejected the core of the Austrian demands, Austria had direct assurance from Grey that he was not averse to an Austrian war on Serbia, provided it did not bring in Russia.⁶²

AUSTRIA'S PLEDGE NOT TO DESTROY SERBIA

By all odds the chief fact in favor of Austria and the most damaging to the Entente relates to the assurances which Austria gave, coincident with her declaration of war on Serbia, that she would not impair the sovereignty or territorial integrity of Serbia. Russia had based her claim to a right to intervene in behalf of Serbia on the ground that she could not stand by

⁵⁷See his *Les Causes de la Guerre*, new edition, Paris, 1925; and his *Le Procès de Salonique*.

⁵⁸*British Documents on the Origins of the War*, Vol. XI, Nos. 21, 28, 29, 40, 55, 56, 265.

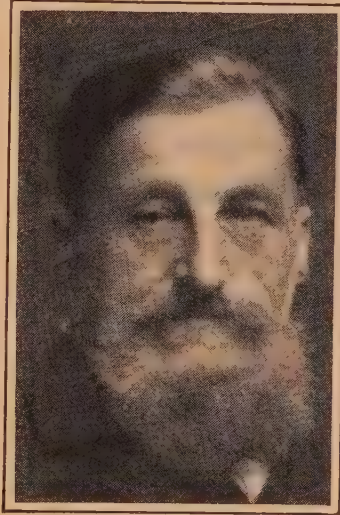
⁵⁹Barnes, *Genesis of the World War*, pp. 178-182.

⁶⁰*British Documents*, Nos. 50, 56, 58.

⁶¹*Austrian Red Book*, Vol. I, pp. 49-50.

⁶²*British Documents*, No. 188.

and see Serbia destroyed.⁶³ If Austria gave full assurance that no destruction of Serbia, either political or territorial, was contemplated, then the Russian case for intervention disappeared. The fear which the war-makers felt in regard to any publicity for this Austrian assurance is well illustrated by the fact that Sazonov concealed from London and Paris the promises he had received from the Austrian Ambassador at St. Petersburg.⁶⁴ Further, Count Szécsen, the Austrian Ambassador in Paris in 1914, has told us how the French authorities and Izvolski both refused even to listen to him when he informed them of the Austrian agreement not to dismember Serbia or impair her political independence.⁶⁵ Finally, number 223 of the Russian *Orange Book* reveals the fact that the Austrian Ambassadors in Paris and London had announced the Austrian assurances made to Sazonov, and that Poincaré and Izvolski felt it necessary immediately to issue a lying denial in order to save the Franco-Russian case before England. In other words, even before the first order for Russian general mobilization, the Russians knew that they did not need to intervene in a military way to protect Serbia from extinction. Finally, on July 31, Austria agreed to discuss with Russia the terms of the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia and to consider the British offer of mediation in regard to the Austro-Serbian dispute, a complete abandonment of her original attitude.⁶⁶ Though in regard to mediation she insisted upon continuing her military advance into Serbia, it was a great concession on the part of Austria to consent to conversations and mediation when directly confronted by the fact of the Russian mobilization against her.



GEORGES DEMARTIAL

One of the leading French revisionists and author of several important works on responsibility for the World War

In the light of the above facts, and the further fact that Austria's action was based upon considerations of self-preservation while Russian intervention was a hypocritical subterfuge in the interest of prestige,⁶⁷ we must absolutely abandon the position taken in the *CURRENT HISTORY* article of 1924, when we placed Austria first in order of war responsibility. To-

day, it is certain that she ranks below Serbia, Russia and France in relative guilt, and next to Germany and England in relative innocence.

4. SITUATION IN REGARD TO GERMANY

The major facts in regard to Germany and her responsibility in the crisis of 1914 had been cleared up by the beginning of 1924. In fact, there was not much left to be said as to the facts after the publication of the articles by Professor Fay in the *American Historical Review* for 1920. It was then shown that, by the time the crisis became acute after July 26, Germany cancelled her blank check to Austria and cooperated enthusiastically with Great Britain in the effort to restrain Austria-Hungary and avert a general conflagration.

Once it became evident that Germany could no longer be accused of having deliberately precipitated the war, then the custodians of the wartime Epic abandoned their defense of Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles and based their indictment of Germany upon the allegation that she had been chiefly responsible for the European system of militarism, nationalism, secret diplomacy and conflicting alliances which made war possible after the assassination of the Archduke in 1914.⁶⁸ The complete publication of the German documents on the period from 1870 to 1914 has made this thesis as untenable as the myth of the Potsdam Conference. As the most definitive

⁶³*German Documents on the Outbreak of the War*, p. 187; *British Documents*, No. 125.

⁶⁴*Austrian Red Book*, Vol. III, pp. 14-15, 17-19; Montgelas, *The Case for the Central Powers*, p. 162.

⁶⁵*Die Kriegsschuldfrage*, February, 1926, pp. 66-69.

⁶⁶*Austrian Red Book*, Vol. III, Nos. 65, 80.

⁶⁷*Cf. G. P. Gooch, Recent Revelations of European Diplomacy*, p. 209.

⁶⁸*Cf. Bernadotte Schmitt, in Foreign Affairs*, October, 1926, p. 147; for a passionate version of German responsibility see W. S. Davis, *Europe Since Waterloo*.

demolition of the legend that Germany was almost exclusively responsible for the background of the crisis of 1914 we could do no better than to refer the reader to the summary opinion of the writer who combines, better than any other living person, impartiality and authority in regard to this particular subject. In assessing the significance of the *Grosse Politik* for an accurate understanding of German policy after 1870, Professor Sidney Bradshaw Fay, after a careful statement of the facts, comes to the following conclusion:⁶⁹

"While it is true that Germany, no less than all the other Great Powers, did some things which contributed to produce a situation which ultimately resulted in the World War, it is altogether false to say that she deliberately plotted to bring it about or was solely responsible for it. On the contrary, she worked more effectively than any other Great Power, except England, to avert it, not only in the last days of July, 1914, but also in the years immediately preceding."

OLD AND NEW "MYTHS" OF GERMAN GUILT

Most of the old myths in the Entente case against Germany had been wiped away by the progress of scholarship up to January, 1924. Professor Fay had demolished the Potsdam fiction in his articles of 1920, and added a detailed obituary notice on Mr. Morgenthau in the *Kriegsschuldfrage* for May, 1925. Count Montgelas and Fabre-Luce completely disposed of the legend of the Szögyény telegram, which was alleged to prove that Germany's diplomatic proposals of 1914 were not made in good faith.⁷⁰ Montgelas and others showed that Bethmann-Hollweg's inquiry on July 29 as to what England would do in the event of war was in no sense an indication of a German desire for, or determination upon, war at that date.⁷¹ After this inquiry the Chancellor redoubled his efforts to promote peace. While Bethmann did not make this inquiry until the 29th, Sazonov had endeavored to force the hand of England as early as the 24th; Izvolski had boasted that war was inevitable on the 27th; and on the 29th Sazonov admitted that he believed war to be inevitable and that everything must

be done to align England with France and Russia.⁷² The theory that Germany inspired the Austrian policy against Serbia was refuted by Fay, Montgelas and von Jagow.⁷³ The thesis of Renouvin, Fabre-Luce and Poincaré that Germany decided for war on July 30, before she heard of the Russian general mobilization, has been completely undermined by Fay and Montgelas.⁷⁴ The view that Germany originated no diplomatic plans for peace in 1914 and turned down all those proposed by other Powers was shattered by Ewart and Fay.⁷⁵

Only one new myth of importance has been launched since 1924. That is the product of the ingenuity of Heinrich Kanner in Austria and Bernadotte Schmitt in the United States. It is based in considerable part upon an exchange of letters between von Moltke and Conrad von Hötzendorf in 1909—letters revealed in Conrad's memoirs. It is alleged that these constituted the basis of a military convention which secretly superseded the terms of the Triple Alliance and also undermined the diplomacy of Bethmann in 1914.⁷⁶ Professor Fay and Count Montgelas almost immediately pounced upon this fiction and laid it forever at rest.⁷⁷ Some reputable authorities, eager to save some bit of the original case against Germany, maintain that there is still one point in the indictment which holds good, namely, that she should have watched Austrian policy more closely and have insisted upon a more moderate program in Vienna.⁷⁸ If, as we have tried to show above, Austrian policy was about what it had to be in the light of the circumstances and was designed to be the least provocative possible of a European war, then this last vestige of the wartime condemnation fades away. The recently published British

⁶⁹*British Documents*, No. 101; 216; *Russian Orange Book*, Romberg, No. 1,551.

⁷⁰Fay in *American Historical Review*, July and October, 1920; Montgelas, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-20, 204-11; G. von Jagow, *Ursachen und Ausbruch des Weltkrieges*.

⁷¹Fay, in *Political Science Quarterly*, December, 1925, pp. 628-9; Montgelas, in *Current History*, April, 1927.

⁷²J. S. Ewart, *The Roots and Causes of the Wars, 1914-1918*, Vol. II, pp. 1,073 ff; Fay, in *American Historical Review*, October, 1920.

⁷³B. E. Schmitt, *Recent Disclosures Concerning the Origins of the World War*, pp. 21-23; H. Kanner, *Der Schlüssel zur Kriegsschuldfrage*.

⁷⁴References as in footnote 26; cf. also T. von Schäfer in *Kriegsschuldfrage*, August, 1926.

⁷⁵A view expressed to me by Dr. Gooch during his visit to this country.

⁶⁹*Die Kriegsschuldfrage*, December, 1926, pp. 901-3.

⁷⁰M. Montgelas, *The Case for the Central Powers*, pp. 211-13; A. Fabre-Luce, *The Limitations of Victory*, pp. 47-49.

⁷¹Montgelas, *op. cit.*, pp. 143, 145.

documents reveal Sir Edward Goschen, the British Ambassador in Berlin in 1914, thoroughly convinced that both the German governing groups and the German financial classes were dead against war and desirous of maintaining peace.⁷⁹ Even the Berlin correspondent of the Paris *Matin*, certainly not a source of pro-German opinion, in his dispatches of July 26, 27, 29 and 30, after thoroughly studying the situation, categorically and flatly denied that Germany wished war. On the 30th he wrote that the false announcement of the German mobilization order had been universally deplored and the denial of the order generally acclaimed.⁸⁰

Finally, as to the great moral indictment of Germany in 1914, aside from the charge of deliberate war guilt, namely, the invasion of Belgium, there is no longer any legitimate doubt that, if England had promised her neutrality in the event Germany respected Belgium, Germany would have been happy to do so. Nor is there much doubt that, if England had given a sharp preliminary warning that she would intervene in the event of the invasion of Belgium, Germany would have changed her plans. Further, in his recent brilliant book, *Chiffons de Papier*, the French publicist, Alcide Ebray, has shown that treaty violation was a European recreation from 1815 to 1914.

The facts assembled in this section relative to Germany do not in any sense prove her innocent of her share in creating the deplorable state of international affairs in Europe in 1914. What they do is to show that, far from having first place in the rank of the guilty, Germany stands with England as one of the two major Powers, which, whatever the stupidities in the details of their policy, actually desired to preserve the peace of Europe from 1871 to August, 1914. The facts relative to the crisis of 1914 do not, of course, prove that in a state of international anarchy in Europe Germany can always be trusted to be on the side of peace and the Entente Powers favorable to war. It so happened that in 1914 France and Russia had, as their leading objectives in foreign policy, goals which could be obtained only by war, while Germany was in a position to profit by the maintenance of the *status quo*. On the other hand, had Turkey capitulated to Russia in 1911, opened the Straits, and threatened the Berlin-Bagdad project, it may well be that around 1914 Russia would

have been a bulwark of European peace, while Germany would have been willing to fight under favorable circumstances to forward her Near Eastern interests.

5. IMMEDIATE RESPONSIBILITY OF RUSSIA

The progress of scholarly research into the problem of war responsibility in the last three years has served to show that, however much she may have been encouraged by France and England, Russia was the one great Power immediately responsible for precipitating the World War in 1914. It is impossible to read the Russian documents on the period from 1904 to 1914 and doubt that Russia was determined to secure the Straits at any price. By 1913 it had become apparent that this price would be a European war.⁸¹ Even so cautious and informed a writer as G. Lowes Dickinson holds that no one can read the pre-war diplomatic literature and believe that Russia would not have precipitated a European war by 1916 or 1917.⁸² We know that Russia would have preferred, all other things being equal, to have waited a year or so after 1914, in order that her preparations for war might be carried to completion.⁸³ Yet Russian fear of possible British defection on account of improving Anglo-German relations in 1914 outweighed the consideration of imperfect armament.⁸⁴ In spite of the fact that the blasts of Sukhomlinov in March and June, 1914, were planned in part to aid the French militarists and prevent the French Socialists from rescinding the three-year service act, there is little doubt that these utterances and General Danilov's memoir of March, 1914, actually reflected the confidence of the Russians as to their preparations for a short war.⁸⁵ With English adherence they believed it would certainly be a short war, for Sazonov had expressed the belief at the close of December, 1913, that France and Russia alone could defeat Germany and Austria, while with English aid they could destroy Germany.⁸⁶

⁸¹F. Stieve. *Isvolsky and the World War*, pp. 186-95; 217-46.

⁸²*The International Anarchy*, p. 466.

⁸³*Clarté*, May, 1925, p. 207.

⁸⁴Barnes, *Genesis of the World War*, pp. 485-90.

⁸⁵References as in footnote 81; G. Frantz, *Russlands Eintritt in den Weltkrieg*; and B. von Eggling, *Die Russische Mobilmachung und der Kriegausbruch*.

⁸⁶Stieve, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-6.

⁷⁹*British Documents*, No. 677.

⁸⁰J. F. Scott, *Five Weeks*, pp. 148-49.

The framework of the Russian procedure in the crisis of 1914 was provided by the military protocol of 1912 which stated:⁸⁷

"Mobilization does not necessarily mean the immediate beginning of hostilities because it may be of advantage to complete the marshalling of our troops without beginning hostilities, in order that our opponent may not be entirely deprived of the hope that war may still be avoided. Our military measures will then have to be masked by clever pretended diplomatic negotiations in order to lull the fears of the enemy as completely as possible. If by such measures we can gain a few days they absolutely must be taken."

RUSSIA'S MOBILIZATION

This procedure was followed with precision in 1914 from July 24 onward: The minutes of the secret Crown Council of July 24 were recovered and first published in *CURRENT HISTORY* in its issue of January, 1926. Serbia was advised to show moderation in her attitude toward Austria and to avoid any precipitate attack, so as not to alienate European opinion. At the same time, extensive military, naval and financial plans were formulated, looking forward to probable European war. On the next morning, at another council, Sazonov was authorized to order the mobilization of 1,100,000 men at his discretion.⁸⁸ On the afternoon of the same day (July 25), Sazonov told Buchanan that, since France "had placed herself unreservedly on Russia's side," Russia was quite prepared to "face all the risks of war."⁸⁹ General Dobrorolski tells us that, at the Crown Council meeting on the 25th and at a meeting of the Russian General Staff that evening, war was decided upon and all subsequent Russian diplomacy was merely a protective screen for the Russian military measures:⁹⁰ "War was already decided upon and the whole flood of telegrams between the Governments of Russia and Germany represented merely the *mise en scène* of a historical drama."⁹¹ It will, therefore, be very difficult for Professor Schmitt to show that the Russian decision upon war came after the Austrian declaration of war on Serbia on July 28.⁹²

On July 26 the preliminary mobilization measures began and were carried on without interruption. The 28th was a crucial day. The British and German diplomatic proposals seemed likely to prove menacing to the war party in Serbia, France and Russia, while the Austrian bombardment of Belgrade provided an excellent ostensible excuse for decisive Russian action. Accordingly, on this day the decision was made to proceed to the general mobilization, which meant irrevocable European war.⁹³ The order was obtained from the Czar on the 29th, and then canceled because of the Kaiser's pressure on the Czar. The partial mobilization of 1,100,000 men was ordered in its stead. On the 30th the Czar was finally persuaded to issue the general mobilization order, fully conscious that it meant an inevitable general conflict: "Remember," he said to Sazonov, "it is a question of sending thousands upon thousands to their death."⁹⁴ As Dobrorolski puts it:⁹⁵ "The thing was irrevocably begun. A change was no longer possible. The prologue of the great drama had commenced!" Further confirmation of Dobrorolski's authoritative statement that Sazonov's diplomatic proposals were bogus and merely a barrage for the military measures, which were soon to make all diplomacy hopeless, is to be found in the recently published letter of Premier Pashitch, written to his Chief of Staff on July 31, 1914:⁹⁶

"The reports received from our Serbian Minister at St. Petersburg state that Russia is now negotiating and is prolonging the negotiations in order to gain time for the mobilization and concentration of her army. When her mobilization is finished she will declare war on Austria."

Further, General Palizyn, Russian Chief of Staff in 1915, boasted how the Russians had gained time by deceiving the Austrians and Germans as to the validity of the Russian mobilization plans:⁹⁷

"Just think what would have occurred if the Austrians had thrown their troops solidly against us. Our march to the frontier would not have succeeded, and the Austrians would have inflicted partial defeats upon us. But for a long time they did not believe we would declare war. They de-

⁸⁷Frantz *op. cit.*, Anlage 82.

⁸⁸British Documents, No. 125.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*

⁹⁰S. Dobrorolski, *Die Mobilmachung der Russischen Armee*, 1914.

⁹¹*Ibid.*

⁹²B. Schmitt, in *Foreign Affairs*, October, 1926, p. 143.

⁹³Schilling, *How the War Began in 1914*, pp. 15-16.

⁹⁴Barnes, *op. cit.*, pp. 341-49.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*

⁹⁶Die Kriegsschuldfrage, November, 1926, pp. 836-7.

⁹⁷*Current History*, March, 1927, pp. 855-6.

voted all their attention to Serbia in the full conviction that we would not stir. Our mobilization struck them like a thunderbolt. It was then too late for them. They had become involved with Serbia. The Germans, too, permitted the first days to elapse without action. Altogether we gained twelve days. Our enemies committed a huge blunder [by crediting Russian diplomatic efforts as sincere] and conceded to us at the same time an incalculable advantage."

As to the question of whether the Russian mobilization meant inevitable war, this is a fact so well settled as to be no longer legitimately debatable. The last effort to defend the thesis that it did not mean war was made by Mr. Charles Altschul in *CURRENT HISTORY* for June, 1926, and was quickly demolished by Dr. Ernest F. Henderson in the August number of the same journal.⁹⁸ As Dr. Frantz pointed out in *CURRENT HISTORY* for March, 1927, the Russian military expert, General Gurko, frankly declared in 1919 that the Russian mobilization automatically and inevitably called forth a German declaration of war, and that no other sane course was open to Germany.⁹⁹

All of the above might be true, and yet Russia could stand vindicated if it could be shown that she was determined upon war in a legitimate cause. This cause was the allegation that Russia was traditionally and morally bound to protect all the Slavic peoples of Europe. In the light of the fact that it had been the Russian Foreign Minister who had suggested the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, and that Russia had offered Turkey an alliance against the Slavic Balkan States in 1911, it can scarcely be held that Russia's title to act as protector of the Serbs can com-

mand much respect. On this issue we might offer the opinion of the decidedly anti-German British Ambassador to France in 1914, Sir Francis Bertie. Writing in his diary on July 26, 1914, he said:¹⁰⁰

"Russia comes forward as the protectress of Serbia; by what title except on the exploded pretension that she is, by right, the protectress of all Slavs? What rubbish!"

On July 27 he wrote to Sir Edward Grey:¹⁰¹

"The French Government * * * should be encouraged to put pressure on the Russian Government not to assume the absurd and obsolete attitude of Russia being the protectress of all Slav States whatever their conduct, for this will lead to war."

Bertie also pointed out to Grey on the 25th that even Bienvenu-Martin, the French Acting-Minister for Foreign Affairs, admitted that the Russian protection of Serbia was no adequate ground for French intervention.¹⁰²

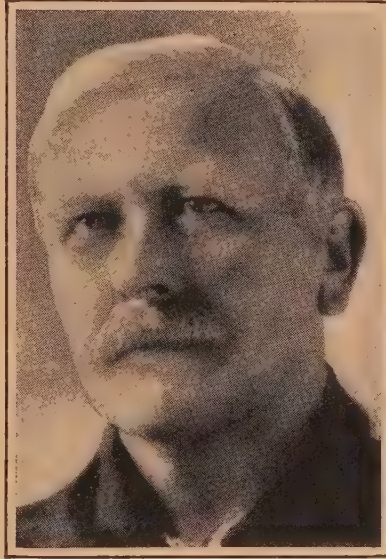
"I (Bertie) felt sure that public opinion in England would not sanction a war in support of Russia if she, as protector of Slavs, picked a

quarrel with Austria over Austro-Serbian difficulty. He (Bienvenu-Martin) admitted, but not as Minister, that it would be difficult to bring French public opinion to fighting point in such a case as present one."

On the 25th Bertie wrote again to Grey:

"I do not think that if Russia picks a quarrel with Austria over the Austro-Serbian difficulty, public opinion in France would be in favor of backing up Russia in so bad a cause. Consequently, the French Government will probably advise the Russian Government to moderate any excessive zeal that they may be inclined to display to protect their Serbian client."

Though Russia took the initiative in precipitating hostilities, France and Great Britain cannot be absolved from their share in the responsibility. As early as July 22,



VICTOR MARGUERITTE
French novelist and prominent as a
revisionist

⁹⁸*Loc. cit.*, *Chronicles*, pp. viii-x.

⁹⁹*Current History*, March, 1927, pp. 857-8.

¹⁰⁰*The Diary of Lord Bertie*, 1914-1918, Vol. I, p. 1.

¹⁰¹*British Documents*, No. 192; cf. also No. 134.

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, No. 129.

Poincaré blocked Grey's plan for avoiding a crisis through direct conversations between Vienna and St. Petersburg, and, throughout the whole crisis, he kept Sazonov from wavering in the program of presenting a solid Franco-Russian front against Germany.¹⁰³ Grey, by telling the Russians by implication on the 25th that the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia would justify Russian mobilization; by also telling them on the 25th that Germany would not mobilize if Russia mobilized solely against Austria; and by informing them on the 27th that the prolonged mobilization of the British fleet should be taken as evidence of British intervention, offered unconscious but very potent encouragement in all stages of the fatal Russian military measures.¹⁰⁴ Further, there is no doubt that Nicolson's long private letter to Buchanan on July 28 helped to give the Russians confidence in regard to the all-important matter of British intervention.¹⁰⁵

6. FRENCH COLLUSION WITH RUSSIA

Accumulation of the evidence against France in realistic research during the last three years has paralleled the development of the well-substantiated indictment of Russia. Three years ago it was contended by Entente apologists that there was no evidence whatever that France had envisaged any plan to recover Alsace-Lorraine as a part of the understanding in the objectives of the Franco-Russian Alliance.¹⁰⁶ The publication of Ernest Judet's book on Georges Louis, however, shows that even before 1910 it was fully understood that the Straits and Alsace-Lorraine were inseparably coupled as the cornerstone of the Alliance. As Louis says in his diary:¹⁰⁷

"In the assumptions of the Franco-Russian Alliance Constantinople and the Straits form the counterpart of Alsace-Lorraine.

"It is not thus written down in any formal convention, but it is the supreme

object of the Alliance which is taken for granted.

"If the Russians should open the question of the Straits in their conversations with us we must respond: 'All right, whenever you give us aid with respect to Alsace-Lorraine.'

"I have found the same conception in the correspondence of Hanotaux with Montebello."

In the documents printed as the appendix to Stieve's *Isvolsky and the World War*, it is shown that Delcassé discussed the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine with the Russians on his mission to Russia in 1913, and that when the war broke out France insisted upon adding to this the destruction of the economic power of Germany. This latter suggestion was probably inspired in part by British suggestion.¹⁰⁸

THE INDICTMENT OF POINCARÉ

The case against France has come to be more and more one against Poincaré. As Dupin has pointed out, even Demartial errs in assigning too much responsibility to Viviani.¹⁰⁹ By 1924 we were aware from Paléologue's memoirs that Poincaré had greatly strengthened and encouraged the war party at St. Petersburg.¹¹⁰ Dr. Stieve obtained permission to reproduce from the British documents (now printed as number 101 of the *British Documents on the Origins of the War*) full proof that while at St. Petersburg Poincaré had reaffirmed the terms of the Franco-Russian Alliance in its most comprehensive form and in direct relation to the impending Austro-Serbian crisis. Baron Schilling's diary of the Russian Foreign Office in 1914 revealed Poincaré's bombastic speeches while at St. Petersburg, which Paléologue informed the Russians were to be regarded as binding diplomatic documents.¹¹¹ The full British documents further reveal the fact that, as early as July 22, Poincaré, still at St. Petersburg, vetoed Grey's sagacious proposal to avert any serious tension by direct conversations between St. Petersburg and Vienna. In other words, he insisted upon confronting Germany with the rigid double front of France and Russia and upon forcing the Central Powers to accept a humiliating diplomatic defeat, or resort to war.¹¹² More

¹⁰³*Ibid.*, No. 76; cf., W. L. Langer, in *Saturday Review of Literature*, April 30, 1927, pp. 781-2.

¹⁰⁴*British Documents*, Nos. 112, 132, 177. Count Pourtales has personally informed the writer that he believes that Grey's telegram of the 27th in regard to the British fleet was more influential than any other single factor in giving the Russians courage to proceed to the decisive act of the general mobilization. This view is also shared by the Reuter Correspondent in St. Petersburg in 1914 and by the Belgian Chargé d'Affaires.

¹⁰⁵*British Documents*, No. 239.

¹⁰⁶See Bernadotte Schmitt, *Recent Dislosures*, pp. 14-15, for an expression of this opinion as late as 1926.

¹⁰⁷E. Judet, *Georges Louis*, p. 143.

¹⁰⁸*Op. cit.*, pp. 247-9.

¹⁰⁹G. Dupin, in *The Progressive*, June 1, 1927, pp. 373-5.

¹¹⁰M. Paléologue, *An Ambassador's Memoirs*.
¹¹¹Schilling, *How the War Began in 1914*, pp. 31-2, 113-16.

¹¹²W. L. Langer, in *Saturday Review of Literature*, April 30, 1927; S. B. Fay, in *American Historical Review*, April, 1927, p. 602.

than ever we may concur with the brilliant French authority, Alfred Fabre-Luce, that, after Poincaré's visit to Russia, "there was very little chance of averting war."¹¹³

The indictment of Poincaré rests not only upon his conduct while at St. Petersburg, but also upon his actions after his return. Lord Bertie's communications to Grey, now given in full in the British documents, make it clear that, in spite of Berthelot's distortions of German communications published in the *Echo de Paris*,¹¹⁴ France was strongly for peace before Poincaré's return, and that he turned the tide for war.¹¹⁵ As we have pointed out above, even the Acting-Foreign Minister of France stated, before Poincaré's homecoming, that he did not believe France could be brought around to fight for so poor a cause as Russian intervention in behalf of Serbia. Poincaré's temper and attitude upon his return to France are clearly shown by the following anecdote recently revealed by Margueritte, Dupin and Charpentier. As he was leaving his boat at Dunkirk at noon on July 29, he was asked by Senator Trystram as to whether he believed that war might be averted. Poincaré replied: "To do so would be a great pity, for we shall never again witness more favorable circumstances."¹¹⁶

It was well known by 1924 that Poincaré made his crucial decision for war at a ministerial council on the night of July 29, when the Russians were told to go ahead with the mobilization plans that meant certain European war.¹¹⁷ From this time onward, Poincaré's program consisted in stifling opposition to his plans for war and in formulating deceptions and subterfuges, designed to deceive the world, and particularly the publics of France, England and Italy, as to the real intentions and policies of France. The ten-kilometer withdrawal order was admitted by Viviani and Messimy in 1919 to have been purely a diplomatic ruse, and the new British documents show that even in July, 1914, Paul Cambon told Grey that the order had been given "for the sake of public opinion in England."¹¹⁸ Pacifist meetings and anti-war demonstrations were rigorously suppressed from the

29th onward,¹¹⁹ and Jaurès's assassination, at the instigation of Izvolski and the Russian secret police, removed from the scene the chief figure who might have been powerful enough to oppose Poincaré and reveal his machinations.¹²⁰ For similar reasons Poincaré refused to allow the French mobilization order to be issued until after the German declaration of a state of imminent war¹²¹ and declined to declare war on Germany. He particularly feared, in regard to the latter, that someone might insist on debating the obligations of France under the terms of the Franco-Russian Alliance.¹²²

FRENCH FALSIFICATION OF DATES

Even more notorious were the French falsifications of the dates and sequence of the Russian, Austrian, French and German general mobilizations and of the alleged German military aggression on French soil. We now know that the French were minutely and promptly informed as to the actual dates of the several mobilizations, but they falsified these and represented the Russian and French mobilizations as subsequent to the Austrian and German, respectively, and tried to prove that the Russian and French mobilizations were ordered as a defense against Austrian and German aggression. In his trenchant exposure of the French official lies of 1914, *L'Evangile du Quai d'Orsay*, Georges Demartial has shown that the French *Yellow Book* of 1914 suppressed the facts about the Russian mobilization in some ten documents and falsified the facts in some twenty others.¹²³ Sometimes these falsifications were amazing. This can be illustrated by telegram number 118 in the *Yellow Book*, sent by Paléologue from St. Petersburg on the morning of July 31 at 10:45. The original and authentic text of this was the laconic communication from Paléologue: "The general mobilization of the Russian army is ordered." After being properly doctored up by the French official editors it assumed in the *Yellow Book* the following proportions and content:

"As a result of the general mobilization of Austria and of the measures for mobilization taken secretly, but continuously,

¹¹³*The Limitations of Victory*, pp. 182-83.

¹¹⁴*German Documents on the Outbreak of the World War*, No. 170; J. F. Scott, *Five Weeks*, pp. 190-91; *British Documents*, No. 193.

¹¹⁵*British Documents*, Nos. 129, 134, 192, 193, 270, 318, 320.

¹¹⁶V. Margueritte, *Les Criminels*, p. 274; A. Charpentier, *Les Responsabilités de M. Poincaré*, p. 19.

¹¹⁷*Russian Orange Book* (Romberg), Nos. 208, 210, 212; Fabre-Luce, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-6.

¹¹⁸*British Documents*, No. 447.

¹¹⁹*Russian Orange Book* (Romberg), Nos. 206-7.

¹²⁰Jacques Mesnil, editor of *Humanité* has established the complicity of Izvolski in the murder of Jaurès. The assassin was acquitted as a public benefactor of France.

¹²¹*Russian Orange Book* (Romberg), No. 218.

¹²²*Ibid.*, No. 222.

¹²³See the remarkable summary by Montgelas in the *Kriegsschuldfrage* for April, 1927, pp. 376-81.

by Germany for the last six days, the order for the general mobilization of the Russian army has been given, Russia not being able, without most serious danger, to allow herself to be further outdistanced; really she is only taking military measures corresponding to those taken by Germany.

"For imperative reasons of strategy the Russian Government, knowing that Germany was arming, could no longer delay the conversion of her partial mobilization into a general mobilization."

In order to make clear the misrepresentations herein contained, it might be well to give the dates of the successive general mobilizations: Russia, finally ordered about 3:30 on the afternoon of July 30 (Dobrorolski puts it two hours earlier); Austria, July 31, 12:20 P. M.; France, Aug. 1, 3:30 P. M.; Germany, Aug. 1, 5 P. M.; England, Aug. 3, 11 A. M. Of a piece with these falsifications were the misrepresentations of the state of German military preparedness and of German military activities on the frontier. These were used to influence both the French people and the British Cabinet.¹²⁴ The embarrassment caused by the last misrepresentations is revealed in document number 319 of the recently published British documents.

Another famous scheme of Poincaré to make war both certain and relatively safe for the Entente was his appeal, first to Lord Bertie and then directly to George V., to have England declare her unconditional solidarity with France and Russia, on the ground that this would frighten Germany out of her aggressive plans and preserve peace.¹²⁵ He further told the King that France had from the beginning put pressure on Russia for moderation and that Russia had at all stages honored such advice. The direct opposite is, of course, true, namely, that from the first, France had encouraged Russian aggressiveness, and that on the 27th Sazonov had warned both France and England that Russia would tolerate no suggestions of moderation.¹²⁶ Likewise, it was Russia that needed restraint at this time if peace was to be preserved. Lord Bertie penetrated this sham with great clarity and precision. In a telegram to Grey on July 30, he said:¹²⁷

"The French, instead of putting pressure on the Russian Government to moderate their zeal, expect us to give the Germans to understand that we mean fighting if war breaks out. If we gave an assurance of armed assistance to France and Russia now, Russia would become more exacting and France would follow in her wake."

Being fully informed by Buchanan, Bunsen, Goschen and Bertie, as to the facts about the sequence of the mobilizations, Grey was completely aware of the French falsifications and subterfuges in 1914, but this knowledge was not sufficient to dislodge him from his determination to stand with France at all hazards.

Certain students of the problem of war responsibility admit that the above summary of the evidence against Poincaré seems to be in accordance with the facts, but hold that it can be hardly credible, because Poincaré was only the President of France and this officer is but a ceremonial figurehead.¹²⁸ This matter has been discussed in a scholarly article by Professor Lindsey Rogers in the *Political Science Quarterly* for December, 1925. He shows that the French President has far more power in regard to foreign policy than in domestic politics, and that, if he carries on his policies in secret and has no strong opponents in the Cabinet, he can be almost absolute in foreign policy. "So long as the President works in the dark he can be quite powerful, the degree of his strength depending upon the excellence of his case and the weakness or firmness of ministries. * * * So long as the influence is secret, it can only be checked by the independence and strong-mindedness of the Cabinet."¹²⁹ Secret diplomacy and weak foreign ministers were the dominating characteristics of Poincaré's régime from 1913 to the outbreak of the war. Even more, Professor Rogers holds that the memoirs of Georges Louis and Alexandre Ribot offer reliable evidence that, as President, Poincaré even exceeded these constitutional limitations on the power of the Executive in foreign relations.¹³⁰ Finally, Izvolski tells us how Poincaré instructed him to come to the President instead of the Foreign Minister when he wanted to discuss important matters of foreign policy, and how Poincaré went to the Foreign Office daily and allowed no important decision to be made without his knowledge and approval.

¹²⁴*British Documents*, No. 319, enclosure, 338; cf. Montgelas, in *Die Kriegsschuldfrage*, February, 1927, pp. 126-8.

¹²⁵*British Documents*, Nos. 318, 320; R. Poincaré, *The Origins of the War*, pp. 238-9, 249-50.

¹²⁶M. Morhardt, *Les Preuves*, pp. 117-146, 298-307; *Russian Orange Book* (Romberg), No. 1,521.

¹²⁷*British Documents*, No. 320.

¹²⁸See Mack Eastman in *Canadian Forum*, May, 1926; June, 1927.

¹²⁹Rogers, *loc. cit.*, p. 551.

¹³⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 551-52.

In short, the situation with respect to war responsibility in France presents a striking resemblance to the Dreyfus case of a generation ago, with Victor Margueritte playing the rôle of Zola. Indeed, Mathias Morhardt, one of the chief figures who fought for truth in the Dreyfus conspiracy, is the president of the chief organization now engaged in the effort to uncover the facts with respect to Poincaré's part in bringing the great calamity of 1914-1918 to the door of France.

7. ENGLAND AND THE OUTBREAK OF WAR

Now that we have the British documents on the crisis of 1914 in full, we can formulate the facts with respect to British responsibility for the World War with some degree of finality of judgment. It is interesting, incidentally, that they offer an almost complete refutation of the version presented in Lord Grey's memoirs. As regards Grey himself, the impression left is about as before, namely, that he was neither the intellectual colossus and shining angel of light which he is portrayed to be by Gilbert Murray and Bernadotte Schmitt nor the clever and malicious super-Machiavelli which he is pictured as being by many writers, especially nationalistic German critics. If there is anything colossal about Grey it is as an exhibit of well-meaning ignorance and incompetence in a public office for which he was unfitted by temperament, inclination and technical training.¹³¹

The new facts learned about Grey from the British documents almost cancel each other with respect to the matter of his responsibility for the outbreak of the war. It was once believed that Grey could be in part excused because he was ignorant of the vital fact of the 1914 crisis and had been grossly deceived by Sazonov and Poincaré. This mitigation can no longer be

urged. He was elaborately and promptly informed on all important points by the British Ambassadors in the four leading Continental capitals. On the other hand, the documents show Grey much more loath to enter the conflict than we had supposed, and somewhat less pliant in the hands of Paul Cambon than we had believed. Further, we can no longer ac-

cept Benckendorff's verdict that Grey was the leader of the aggressive element in forcing England into the war. The documents show his responsible subordinates, Sir Eyre Crowe and Sir Arthur Nicolson, to have been far more insistent than Grey in urging that England follow France and Russia without hesitation.

The recently published British documents prove definitely enough that England was not bound to enter the war by any unequivocal and binding treaty obligations with France or Russia. There were in 1914 some Englishmen who held that England was at least bound by a debt of honor to aid France. It is ab-



ALBRECHT MENCKELSOHN
BARTHOLDY

A leading German authority on
the origins of the World War

solutely apparent, however, that the thing which weighed most of all with those members of the British Cabinet who favored war was the same consideration of alleged British interests which had produced the bellicose stand of Britain in the two Morocco crises and had also led to the Grey-Cambon correspondence of November, 1912. This means, however, that Great Britain was exactly as much bound in fact as though she had been bound by a treaty. The source-material on war guilt which we now possess proves that it would be rather difficult to imagine a probable situation in international relations where Russia and France could have been presented to England under more repellant circumstances or Austria and Germany under better auspices than in the crisis of 1914. Yet Grey persisted unhesitatingly in his determination to throw in his lot with France and Russia, once it was evident that these Powers had decided to enter the conflict.

The whole key to British policy in 1914

¹³¹By all odds the fairest and most thorough study is the recent monumental work of Hermann Lutz, *Lord Grey und der Weltkrieg*. An English translation will soon appear. More trenchant and critical are the comments of Count Montgelas in the *Kriegsschuldfrage*, May-July, 1926.

is most admirably phrased by Crowe and Nicolson in their comments of July 25, which were appended to Buchanan's communication to Grey on July 24. It will be remembered that this was very early in the crisis, being, in fact, before the Serbian reply to Austria had been delivered. Crowe's appraisal of the international situation at this time follows:¹³²

"The moment has passed when it might have been possible to enlist French support in an effort to hold back Russia.

"It is clear that France and Russia are decided to accept the challenge thrown out to them. Whatever we may think of the merits of the Austrian charges against Serbia, France and Russia consider that these are the pretexts, and that the bigger cause of Triple Alliance versus Triple Entente is definitely engaged. * * *

"Should the war come, and England stand aside, one of two things must happen:

"(a) Either Germany and Austria win, crush France and humiliate Russia. With the French fleet gone, Germany in occupation of the Channel, with the willing or unwilling cooperation of Holland and Belgium, what will be the position of a friendless England?

"(b) Or France and Russia win. What would then be their attitude toward England? What about India and the Mediterranean?

"Our interests are tied up with those of France and Russia in this struggle, which is not for the possession of Serbia, but one between Germany aiming at a political dictatorship in Europe and the Powers who desire to retain individual freedom. If we can help to avoid the conflict by showing our naval strength, ready to be instantly used, it would be wrong not to make the effort."

Nicolson added the observation that: "The points raised by Sir Eyre Crowe merit serious consideration, and doubtless the Cabinet will review the situation. Our attitude during the crisis will be regarded by Russia as a test, and we must be careful not to alienate her."

BRITISH POLICY ENCOURAGED FRANCE AND RUSSIA

The policies outlined above were adhered to resolutely by the British throughout the crisis. This meant that England inevitably became a source of encouragement to Franco-Russian bellicosity and was equally

irrevocably bound to enter the war. Her only hope of averting the European war lay in restraining Russia or declaring her neutrality. Both of these she refused to do. Yet, we cannot say that Crowe and Nicolson wanted war for its own sake. On the 30th Crowe appended to Document No. 318 the following reflections with respect to the French and Russian appeals for a British declaration of unflinching solidarity with these Powers:¹³³

"What must weigh with his Majesty's Government is the consideration that they should not, by a declaration of unconditional solidarity with France and Russia, induce and determine these two Powers to choose the path of war. If and when, however, it is certain that France and Russia cannot avoid war, and are going into it, my opinion, for what it is worth, is that British interests require us to take our place beside them as allies, and in that case our intervention should be immediate and decided."

At the same time that Crowe and Nicolson were endeavoring to influence Grey in the direction of a favorable attitude toward France and Russia, they were also working unceasingly to prejudice him against Germany by an almost incredibly malicious campaign devoted to maligning German acts and policies. Their distortions, in obvious defiance of facts known to both of them at the time, are at times quite unbelievable, and make the Kaiser's digs at England in his marginal notes on the German documents seem calm and penetrating analyses by comparison. (See *British Documents*, Nos. 149, 174, 185, 249, 264, 293.)

In his general attitude toward the problem of intervention on the side of France and Russia in the event of war, Grey stood shoulder to shoulder with Crowe and Nicolson. He was simply more cautious in the details and method of his procedure. He hesitated because he did not desire to incite France and Russia, because he hated to admit what he had denied in the House of Commons, namely, secret British understandings with France, and, finally, because he feared an adverse vote in the Cabinet and the House of Commons if he were too hasty. Churchill is revealed in the documents as "rearing to go" and thoroughly with Crowe and Nicolson.

In addition to the considerations of international policy which led Grey to cast his lot with the Entente, it should not be

¹³²*British Documents*, No. 101, Minutes.

¹³³*British Documents*, p. 201.

forgotten that there were powerful forces in domestic British politics which strengthened the war party. The Conservatives, led by Bonar Law, felt that a war would delay, if not destroy, the impending agrarian reforms and financial measures of Lloyd George, while the Ulsterites, under the leadership of Sir Edward Carson, saw in war a real hope of obstructing the introduction of the Irish Home Rule Act.

Not only did England utterly fail to attempt any restraint of Russia, beyond Buchanan's reminder to Sazonov that Russian mobilization would inevitably mean a European war, she actually encouraged Russia in her aggressive policy. Grey's statements of the 25th relative to Russian and Austrian mobilization encouraged Russia in her preliminary military measures. Grey's information of the 27th that the prolongation of the mobilization of the British fleet should be taken as evidence of English intervention, and Nicolson's private letter to Buchanan on July 28 had a great influence upon the Russian decision to proceed to the fatal general mobilization.¹³⁴ Nor did Britain make any effort to bring France to her senses, in spite of the exhortations of Lord Bertie. Grey did not even press his efforts to get the French to consider the German neutrality proposals.¹³⁵ The most that Grey did was to adopt a dilatory policy with respect to making any definite commitment to Cambon, and, on one occasion, when this evasiveness was especially disconcerting to Cambon, he permitted the latter to send a false report of Grey's attitude to Paris, in order not to alarm the French authorities.¹³⁶

The full British documents confirm what was reasonably apparent from the *Blue Book*, namely, that there was nothing which Germany could have done in 1914 which would have kept England out of the war, unless Germany had been willing to stand aside and see Austria attacked by Russia, with the resulting destruction of the Triple Alliance and the complete diplomatic isolation of Germany.

In particular, the complete documents expose with great thoroughness Grey's exploitation of the Belgian subterfuge. We have already made it clear that Grey, Crowe and Nicolson had formulated their general attitude towards the future of



COUNT MAX MONTGELAS
One of the leading German historians of the World War

British policy in the crisis by July 25, and in none of their arguments for British intervention did any consideration for either Serbia or Belgium enter. The slogan of protection for "poor, innocent little nations" emerged only after the decision to intervene had been reached and a high moral issue was deemed desirable to attract the support of British opinion. Before Grey addressed his famous question to France and Germany on the 31st, as to what their stand would be on the issue of Belgian neutrality, he knew from Goschen's conversations with Bethmann-Hollweg what Germany's attitude would be. Even more significant, Bourgeois and Pagès have proved from unpublished French material that, on July 31, before he had received a reply from either France or Germany, Grey told Cambon that he was personally convinced that England should intervene immediately.¹³⁷ He did not dare to give any definite promise, however, as he feared an

¹³⁴ *British Documents*, Nos. 112, 132, 177, 239.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, Nos. 419, 426, 447, 453, 460.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 426.

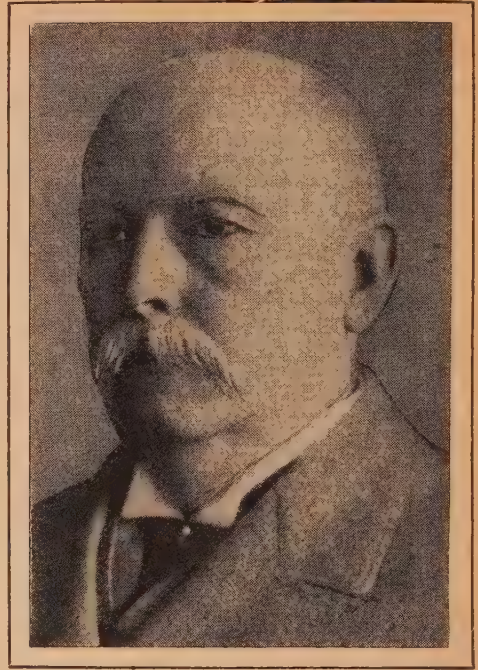
¹³⁷ Bourgeois and Pagès, *Les Origines et les Responsabilités de la Grande Guerre*, p. 58.

adverse vote in the Cabinet and the House of Commons unless he could hold over their heads the prospect of a German violation of the neutrality of Belgium. It was known long before 1924 that England was not bound by the Treaty of 1839 to protect Belgian neutrality, that Grey coldly rejected the German proposal to respect Belgian neutrality in the event of a promise of British neutrality, and that Grey teased out of Belgium her appeal to the Entente for armed protection.¹³⁸ No one has better stated the essential facts in regard to Great Britain and the Belgian issue than the brilliant French writer, Fabre-Luce:

"It was a welcome turn of fortune which came to the rescue of a menaced Government, the medium they employed to show the people the use of a war their leaders considered necessary. It seemed a sufficient reason for an act already decided upon for less good reasons; it assured a political and economic antagonism being reduced to a moral proposition, and thus involved spiritual forces in the war."

In short, if one concedes that it was to the interest of Great Britain to have a European war in 1914 and to fight in this war on the side of the Entente, then the British documents prove that Grey and his associates played their cards with great skill. If they really desired to avoid a European war, then it must, in all fairness, be stated that they behaved with the utmost—even criminal—stupidity. If England had put the pressure on Russia that Germany put on Austria or had declared her neutrality, there is little probability that there would have been any European war. As it can scarcely be maintained that Grey, Crowe or Nicolson really desired a war, the verdict must probably be that they were so blinded by Francophilism and Germanophobia, to which was added in Nicolson's case an ardent Russomania, that they were the victims of a fatal myopia in July, 1914, in regard to the realities of the European situation.

The British documents veritably constitute the keystone to the arch of revisionism. It may be stated with absolute assurance that there have been few instances in history where a position taken on the basis of relatively adequate sources has been so completely confirmed as has been the case with even a somewhat extreme version of revisionism through the complete publication of the British documents on the crisis



HANS DELBRUECK
German historian and critic

of 1914. When the French documents come along, if they ever do, they can do little more than round out and polish off the surface of the structure.

8. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

As a concise summary of the status of scholarly opinion regarding war responsibility, it is probable that nothing is better than the concluding chapter of *The International Anarchy, 1904-14*, by G. Lowes Dickinson, the distinguished Cambridge professor. We can quote only briefly from this material:¹³⁹

"* * * I do not believe that there was a State in existence that would not, under similar circumstances, have determined, as Austria did, to finish the menace, once for all, by war. * * * With every year that passed the Austrian position would get worse and the Serbian better. So, at least, the Austrians thought, and not without reason. They took their risk according to the usual canons in such matters. They may be accused of miscalculation, but I do not see that they can be excused of wrong by any one who accepts now or who accepted then, the principles which have always dictated the policy of States. * * *

¹³⁸Barnes, *Genesis of the World War*, pp. 542 ff; Ewart, *Roots and Causes of the Wars*, Chap. xiv.

¹³⁹Dickinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 429, 463-6.

German diplomacy was cumbrous, stupid and dishonest. Granted, it was! But German policy was such as any State would have adopted in her position. The Powers of the Entente say that the offense was Germany's backing of Austria. Germans say that the offense was Russia's backing of Serbia. On that point really, the whole controversy turns. To my mind the German position is the more reasonable."

In the article in *CURRENT HISTORY*, May, 1924, the author made an effort to arrange the European Powers in a numerical order of responsibility. This is, perhaps, valid procedure; but it is probably better simply to let the matter rest by saying that Serbia, Russia and France were the only States in 1914 that desired a European war. Austria insisted upon a local punitive war, but ardently hoped that this might be kept from growing into a general conflict. Germany, England and Italy were opposed to any kind of war after July 26, but were too short-sighted, stupid, selfish or dilatory to be able to avert the calamity.

In arriving at a clear understanding

about the outbreak of the World War it is also necessary to dismiss the thesis of certain writers that the war was the inevitable outcome of the European system of international anarchy and conflicting alliances. No one could possibly be more willing than the present writer to concede the fact that a dangerous and menacing situation was created by the European system of 1914; but this system had existed for forty years without any major war. It was unquestionably the specific personalities and policies of 1914 which produced the great cataclysm. This can be proved very definitely simply by reflecting as to what would have been the outcome of the crisis after the murder of the Archduke if Tisza had been in control of Austrian policy, Caillaux in charge of matters in France, Kokovstov, Foreign Minister of Russia in the place of Sazonov, and Lord Morley or Earl Loreburn in the shoes of Sir Edward Grey. Under such circumstances it is utterly inconceivable that war could have resulted. Indeed, it is highly probable that there would have been no war had there been merely an inter-



How the map of Central Europe was redrawn as a result of the Treaty of Versailles

change of one man, namely, if Caillaux had been presiding over the destinies of France instead of the doughty Lorrainer.

Another illusion in regard to war responsibility which it is necessary to combat is the view expressed by Dr. Cochran in *CURRENT HISTORY* for April, 1927, namely, that contemporary revisionism constitutes an extreme emotional swing of the pendulum away from the wartime fictions, and that ultimately the truth will be found to lie somewhere between the views expressed in William Stearns Davis's *Roots of the War* and those expounded in the present article. This is certainly a benign attitude and, *a priori*, seems sensible. The fact is, however, that we were so blinded by wartime propaganda as to the black devilishness of the Central Powers and the lamb-like innocence of the Entente that we are still unprepared

for the extent of the exposure of Serbia, France and Russia which the documents have produced. Almost without exception all the new material of the last three years has served to bolster up even an advanced version of revisionism, and there is little probability that any important extenuating material will be published hereafter which will aid the cause of the Entente. If such material exists it would have seen light before this. On the other hand, we still have the trump cards to be played against the Entente, namely, the French documents and the secret Russian correspondence with Serbia. Therefore, instead of settling back into any such position as that taken by Professor Schmitt in *Foreign Affairs* for October, 1926, we can be sure that revisionism will not have to retreat a step, but will continue to leave the more conservative historians breathless for a long time to come.

V—THE PRESENT EUROPEAN SITUATION

The question of war responsibility cannot be regarded as simply an isolated and esoteric matter of historical scholarship. If it were, we would well rest content to allow the historians solemnly to dissect its minute problems in their cloistered alcoves during the next ten generations. It so happens that this question is the most important issue before the public today, still faced as we are by the "international anarchy" of 1914 and by the imminent danger of another European war. The international attitudes in Europe today rest to a very large degree upon the affections and hatreds engendered by the war and the conceptions of responsibility thereunto attached. It is extremely difficult to erect the structure of Locarno upon the foundations of Versailles. The chief political obstacles to peace in Europe—the South Tyrol, Macedonia, the Polish Corridor, Silesia, Bessarabia, dismembered Hungary, Austria forbidden to effect a juncture with Germany, and outlawed Russia—are for the most part the product of wartime attitudes and of a Peace Treaty which was founded upon the most flagrant of wartime lies and hypocrisy. Likewise, a leading source of European financial instability and poverty—the system of reparations—is the financial penalty imposed upon supposedly guilty nations which have been proved to be far less responsible than most of their judges.¹⁴⁰

Even more important is the bearing of the question of war responsibility upon the problem of putting an end to the menace of war itself. If we can but understand how incredibly we were deceived by the wartime propaganda as to the real facts and issues involved in the events of 1912-18, we ought to be in a position to scrutinize somewhat more closely the propaganda of the next pre-war period. Again, when we discern how pathetically we failed to secure the chief alleged aims of the Entente—the ending of all wars, the abolition of militarism, disarmament, world democracy, idealism and coöperation in international relations, world organizations, and international security—we should come to understand how futile it is to hope to secure constructive and pacific results through the method of warlike endeavor. Finally, the war proved how little gratitude one may expect from allies and how little one can depend upon the stability of international relationships which are subjected to the strain of war. The net result of the above facts should demonstrate the necessity of meeting the military menace head-on through outlawry of war and of doing everything possible to erect some adequate form of international organization to curb ecstatic patriots and bellicose diplomats.

¹⁴⁰By all odds the best statement of the bearing of the facts of war guilt on the Treaty of Versailles and post-war Europe is contained in the brilliant work of Alcide Ebray, *A Frenchman Looks at Peace*, 1927.

Confessions of the Assassin Whose Deed Led to the World War

By HAMILTON FISH ARMSTRONG

MANAGING EDITOR, *Foreign Affairs*

WHO was Gavrilo Princip? A mere cog in the ponderous machinery propelling Europe toward the catastrophe of the World War. But though far from being the cause of the war he furnished the actual occasion for it. If his name was ever known to more than a few hundred Americans, which is doubtful, today it is certainly forgotten. Yet before the echo of his pistol shot in a distant Balkan street died altogether away it had summoned Americans from factories, colleges, farms and offices to put on the uniform of war. They had never heard of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir-apparent to the throne of the Habsburgs, nor of the obscure citizen of Bosnia who killed him. Yet so fragile was the structure of world peace that one pistol shot brought it down in a ruin that the citizens of no country could entirely escape.

What were the ideas and motives of a man whose act so profoundly changed the course of our lives? Today we find ourselves for the first time in a position to speak confidently about him. He was a patriot and an anarchist. He was an idealist and an assassin. He was a weak neurotic; he was a daring bravo. His ill-matched traits are revealed in a remarkable document which has just come to light—the stenographic notes, in German, of an Austrian doctor who tended him in prison in the months before his death, together with two short passages which he wrote for the doctor as samples of his handwriting. Princip tells us, through his confidant, the story of his life—about his childhood, his schooling, his calf love, his comrades and their exalted talk, his poverty struck existence in Serbia, his projects for freeing his native Bosnia from the Habsburg yoke, his accomplices, his return to Sarajevo, the act itself, his prison, his reflections over what he had done and what he hoped would be the future of his country, his thoughts of his approaching death. Here is the psychology of revolution revealed. Pathologists and statesmen, both will find something to learn in this account.

A whole literature of legend and propa-

ganda has grown up about Princip and the confederates who placed themselves at intervals along the streets of Sarajevo to take a shot at the Archduke Franz Ferdinand. But up to the present time we have known surprisingly few facts. The *procès-verbal* of the trial exists, but so far it has not been published in full. No important papers of Princip himself have been found. Now Dr. Martin Pappenheim, a well-known psychiatrist, Professor in the University of Vienna, supplies us with the notes which he took down at Princip's dictation in the prison fortress of Theresienstadt. From the time that he was called up for duty in the Austro-Hungarian Army, at the beginning of the war, Dr. Pappenheim seized every opportunity of studying cases of shell-shock and the various abnormal types which he came across in the military hospitals and prisons. From October, 1915, to June, 1916, he was on duty at Theresienstadt. He was able to convince Princip that he was not a spy and that no harm would come from speaking with him freely. Princip was desperately lonely. As soon as he felt sure of the doctor's sincerity he welcomed the chance of unburdening his mind to him.

It should be remembered in reading the notes taken down by Dr. Pappenheim that he was interested merely in having something with which to refresh his own memory subsequently, and that he had no idea of recording a consecutive and coherent story for publication. Princip, according to Dr. Pappenheim, spoke broken German. Moreover, eleven years have elapsed since the notes were jotted down. Dr. Pappenheim has not made any use of them in that time, nor has he attempted to annotate or correct them now. They stand as they were written in the prison cell, full of gaps and inconsistencies. But it is Princip speaking. These are his own halting, disjointed phrases. Through them we catch a clearer image of the man himself than we could ever have drawn from some second-hand pen portrait carefully worked up ten years after his death.

In describing himself Princip describes a whole generation—nationalist and revolu-

tionary Young Bosnia, surging forward to seize the reins of Slavic leadership from the hands of their elders when the annexation of 1908 demonstrated that the old compromises, the old opportunist tactics, were merely sealing the fate of their country as a subject province of the Habsburgs. The old leaders had been content to work for concessions in the educational laws, for small religious or legal rights. Young Bosnia—*Mlada Bosna*—would hear of nothing less than the freedom and unity of the whole Yugoslav race, and they were ready for any crime or sacrifice that they imagined would forward the cause. From the frontiers of Serbia across to the Adriatic Coast, the Slav subjects of the Dual Monarchy were in a ferment. Without understanding their exaltation and perverted idealism no one can understand the succession of murders and attempts to murder that culminated in the killing of the Archduke at Sarajevo in 1914, and no one can understand why Austria-Hungary should have made that assassination the pretext for starting the greatest of wars.

Grahovo, where Princip was born, is in Western Bosnia, a backward part of a backward land. His peasant father occupied himself, according to his account, with various "commissions" in addition to his farming. At any rate, he had enough money to send Gavrilko to school at Sarajevo. It was just after the Austrian annexation. Young Bosnia, worked on by the patriotic appeals of secret or semi-secret student papers, adopted as its pattern Bogdan Zerajitch, the Herzegovinian student who in 1910 made an attempt on the life of General Vareschanin, the Austrian Governor. Groups of students used often to visit his grave. They read the works of Russian anarchist and socialist revolutionaries—Bakunin, Kropotkin, Savinkov, Trotsky—and their talk was of social as well as racial revolution. But they differed from their Russian mentors—before everything they were nationalists. Their eyes were always turning over the mountains to Serbia, the Piedmont, they felt sure, of a destined Yugoslav *risorgimento*. When Princip became restless it was to Belgrade that he went. There he found a group of other Bosnians, some of them students like himself, others practically exiles because of their revolutionary records. Together they plotted to follow Zerajitch's example, but to be more efficient.

ORIGIN OF SARAJEVO CRIME

One of Princip's friends in Belgrade was a young compatriot named Chabrinovitch,

who had been expelled from home by the Austrian authorities because of his openly expressed socialist beliefs. In the Spring of 1914 two other friends who had remained in Sarajevo, by name Ilitch and Pushara, cut out of a newspaper an announcement of the proposed visit to Bosnia of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, stuck it on a postcard, and sent it to Chabrinovitch in Belgrade. Chabrinovitch showed it to Princip. Their minds must often have pondered over deeds of violence, for the receipt of this hint from home was enough to determine them to take occasion of the Archduke's visit to try and kill him. With a third boy, Grabez, and one Ciganovitch, a Bosnian employed in the Serbian railways, they consulted Major Tankositch, a Serbian officer and former *komitadji* leader with whom Princip seems to have been acquainted from the days when he had tried to enlist in a *komitadji* troop, but was rejected because of bad health. From Tankositch at the last moment they got arms.

Meanwhile, plotters had not been idle in Bosnia itself. Many of whom we have never heard were doubtless preparing in other parts of the country for the Archduke's visit, but we know that in Sarajevo itself Ilitch had armed three young revolutionary friends, Popovitch, Chubrilovitch and Mehmedbashitch. These three, the three from Belgrade, and Pushara himself, were all at different points along the route of the Archduke when he passed through the streets of Sarajevo on July 28—a date which of itself added to the determination of the conspirators because it was the anniversary of the heroic battle on Kossovo Field when the last independent Serbian Princes went down before the conquering Mohammedan hosts. Was Bosnia to have been freed of the Turks merely to become the appendage of the Habsburgs?

On this Kossovo Day the chauffeur of the Archduke's car made a mistake in his route at a disastrous spot—the spot where stood Princip, grasping his pistol in his pocket. Although a bomb attempt had been made on the Archduke that very morning, the streets were strangely under-policed. As the car backed slowly around, Princip leaped forward and shot the Archduke in the neck. He then turned his pistol on General Potiorek, who was in the same car, but his arm was jerked by a bystander and the next shot hit the Archduke's wife, the Duchess Sophie. Both died within a few minutes. Princip was seized, mauled a little, and hustled off to jail. The trial was held

in October. Twenty-five persons—all, without exception, Bosnians—were implicated and tried; of them sixteen were sentenced and nine acquitted. Ilitch, Chubrilovitch and Jovanovitch were executed. Princip, Chabrinovitch and Grabez, being not yet twenty, were below the age for the death penalty and were imprisoned at Theresienstadt. All three died there of consumption before the end of the war.

Three years ago, in *Die Neue Rundschau* of Berlin, Franz Werfel recalled a visit he had paid to Chabrinovitch at Theresienstadt. This is what he saw as soon as his eyes had become accustomed to the dim yellow light of the cell: "I now detect a white, indescribably ethereal form clinging with a phosphorescent hand to the iron bedstead. It seems to be clothed in spectral white linen wound tightly around it. But it does not give the impression of a shrouded skeleton—no, of a tremulous, pale vision, an unsubstantial, hovering vapor in the air—as if a disembodied spirit was about to dissipate in the unnatural yellow luminescence that filled the room. Chabrinovitch, supporting his hand upon the bed, made motions with his feet like those of a man trying to step into his slippers standing up. His emaciated knees touched each other. His limbs trembled violently as in some nervous crisis."

It was with some such a being, in the same prison, that Dr. Pappenheim held the conversations of which he made his stenographic notes. Princip's words from his cell seem to have the ring of truth. He was in agony from the ravages of tuberculosis; his body was literally decaying; death

was a matter only of days or weeks; his country, which there can be no doubt he loved, was in the throes of invasion and defeat. Every instinct must have told him to bare his heart to the man who came to him in his solitude and expressed an interest in the ideas that had brought him to such a pass. It will be for the reader to judge whether he tried to color his self-portrait or whether the outlines he gave were indeed faithful and true.

A friend of Princip's gives the following striking account of his physiognomy and personality: "He was of middling height, on the small side, but with rather broad shoulders, slightly rounded. He had brown-black hair and sentimental blue eyes under a rather frowning forehead. But though the eyes were 'sentimental,' fire and boldness shone from them. He was muscular and bony, and his hands were strong. He spoke briefly and in short phrases, and gave the impression of meaning what he said. He was intelligent, as Dr. Pappenheim also bears witness. His speech was often defiant, and might have given an impression of sarcasm if there had not been in his whole face, and particularly in his eyes, so much dreaming and Slavic melancholy. He was a true friend and unselfish, and was loved by his fellows."

This was the man who killed the Archduke and so set off the train of events that led directly to the presentation of the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia and the World War. He says he had no idea of "becoming a hero." Let him tell in his own meagre words what were the forces that drove him to the crime.

DR. PAPPENHEIM'S CONVERSATIONS WITH PRINCIP

(Here follow the stenographic notes by Dr. Martin Pappenheim, psychiatrist, Professor in the University of Vienna, covering conversations with Princip in the fortress of Theresienstadt between February and June, 1916. The footnotes are by Mr. Armstrong. The translation is literal. The omission of obscure or repetitious passages is indicated by asterisks. The words in italics within parentheses are observations or questions by Dr. Pappenheim.)

PRISON

19 II 1916

27 VII 1894.¹ Here since 5 XII 1914. The whole time in solitary confinement.

Three days ago, chains off. Father a peasant, but occupies himself with enterprises. Father a quiet man, does not drink. Father lives at Grahovo, Bosnia. No diseases in the family. School at Sarajevo 5 classes, then 3 classes at Belgrade without *matura*.² Always has been healthy. Knew nothing of serious injuries before the assassination.³ At that time injuries on the head and all

²*Matura*, the final school examination, prerequisite for beginning university studies. Four years usually were spent in the elementary school, followed by eight years either in the Gymnasium or Real-schule. Both these were secondary schools, the former giving general humanistic training, the latter preparing for technical pursuits.

³The word used throughout by Princip and Dr. Pappenheim to describe a political murder is *attentat*, for which there is no satisfactory English equivalent.

¹Date of Princip's birth. On Feb. 19, 1916, therefore, the date of this first talk with Dr. Pappenheim, he was 21½ years old.



GAVRILO PRINCIP

A photograph (hitherto unpublished) of the assassin of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand

over. At that time senseless. Scarlet fever. No bed-wetting. In the Gymnasium, sleep-walking. Walking about the room. Only during one year. Was waked up. In the third class.⁴ Never had attacks of unconsciousness.

Always "excellent student"⁵ up to the fifth class. Then fell in love. Began to have ideals. Left the school in Sarajevo in 1911. At that time nationalistic demonstrations were taking place against Tisza. Was in the first lines of the students. Was badly treated by the professors. Read many anarchistic, socialistic, nationalistic pamphlets, *belles lettres* and everything. Bought books himself; did not speak about these things. Father not occupied with political matters. Was not much with other school-boys, always alone. Was always quiet, sen-

timental child. Always earnest, with books, pictures, &c. Even as a child was not particularly religious.

Designates the year 1911⁶ as critical. Went alone⁷ to Belgrade. Told nobody about it. Father and brother would not send any money. Promised to be a good student. Then they agreed with his remaining in Belgrade.

Father 54 years old, mother 45 years. Two other brothers, one 26, one 18 years. Six others died as small children before 10 years. Himself the fourth child. Of his brothers, one a student in the Real-schule and the other a merchant. Brothers quite ordinary men. The love for the girl did not vanish, but he never wrote her. Relates that he knew her in the fourth class; ideal love, never kissed; in this connection will reveal no more of himself. Study as a private student. Intercourse with nobody; solitary, always in libraries. Wanted to go into the Balkan War, but was found too weak. Was every year for some months at a brother's in the neighborhood of Sarajevo.

Only in May, 1914, took examinations for the eighth class. At the time of the assassination was injured on the head and back and all over. Took cyanide of potassium, but was weak and vomited.

It is very hard in solitary confinement, without books, with absolutely nothing to read and intercourse with nobody. Always accustomed to read, suffering most from not having anything to read. Sleeps usually only four hours in the night. Dreams a great deal. Beautiful dreams. About life, about love, not uneasy. Thinks about everything, particularly about conditions in his country. He had heard something about the war. Had heard a tragic thing, that Serbia no longer exists. His life is in general painful, now that Serbia does not exist. It goes hard with my people. The World War would not have failed to come, independent of it.⁸ Was a man of ideals wanted to revenge the people. The motives—revenge and love. All the young men were in the same sort of revolutionary temper. Spoke of anarchistic pamphlets which incited to murder.

Thinks differently today, thinks a social revolution is possible in all Europe, as

⁴Princip's seventeenth birthday was July 27, 1911.

⁵Dr. Pappenheim writes "selbst," probably used by Princip for both "self" and "alone," the Slavic word "sam" being used thus interchangeably.

⁶I. e., of the murder.

⁴In the third class of the Gymnasium Princip would have been about 14.

⁵Vorzugsschüler, a scholastic grading.

things are changing. Will say no more in the presence of the guard. Is not badly treated. All behave properly toward him.⁹

Admits attempt at suicide a month ago. Wanted to hang himself with the towel. It would be stupid to have a hope. Has a wound on the breast and on the arm (*fun-gus*). A life like mine. that's impossible. At that time, about 12 o'clock, he could not eat, was in bad spirits, and on a sudden came the idea to hang himself. If he had opportunity he would do it. Thinks of his parents and all, but hears nothing of them. Confesses longing. That must exist in everybody.

PRISON HOSPITAL

12 V 1916

He recognizes me immediately and shows pleasure at seeing me. Since 7 IV here in hospital. Always nervous. Is hungry, does not get enough to eat. Loneliness. Gets no air and sun here; in the fortress

took walks. Has no longer any hope for his life. There is nothing for him to hope for. Life is lost. In former days was a student, had ideals. Everything that was bound up with his ideals is all destroyed. My Serbian people. Hopes that something may turn for the better, but is skeptical. The ideal of the young people was the unity of the South Slav peoples, Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, but not under Austria. In a kind of state, republic or something of the sort. Thought that if Austria were thrown into difficulties then a revolution would come. But for such a revolution one must prepare the ground, work up feeling. Nothing happened. By assassination this spirit might be prepared. There already had been attempts at assassinations before. The perpetrators¹⁰ were like heroes to our young people. He had no thought of becoming a hero. He wanted merely to die for his idea. Before the assassination he had read an article of Kropotkin about

⁹"Mit ihm korrekt."

¹⁰"Die Attentäter."



Princip's arrest just after the assassination of Franz Ferdinand at Sarajevo

as a whole existed the wish for national liberation. The older generation was of a different opinion from the younger as to how to bring it about. In the year '78¹³ many Serb leaders and generals prayed for liberation from the Turks. The older generation wanted to secure liberty from Austria in a legal way; we do not believe in such a liberty.

It naturally goes hard with our co-nationals in Austria. Also does not believe it goes well with the Czechs and Poles. Has heard and read that the Slav peoples in Austria are badly off. Are persecuted. In Bosnia high treason trials and *Iznimne mjere*—exceptional law. That often existed in Bosnia. In Bosnia too few schools. In Serbia more, ten times more. In Belgrade six Gymnasias, in all Bosnia four.¹⁴ One million, nine hundred thousand people of all faiths.

The time before he wrote ten lines and one word. Now after this talk he continues writing again. Stops often and reflects. Complains himself that it is difficult for him. Ceases writing again after fifteen lines.¹⁵ Again translates: “* * * there must be created a relation where all differences equalize, (adds) are equalized, between European peoples. But we as nationalists, although we had read socialistic and anarchistic writings, did not occupy ourselves much with this question, thinking that each of us had another duty—a na-

¹³The year of the Austrian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Princip seems to be pointing out that some of the older and more conservative Bosnians welcomed the Austrians as liberators from the Turks.

¹⁴Princip is not quite right in his figures. In 1906 there were 354 elementary schools in Bosnia-Herzegovina, a number which had grown to about 400 at the time of the outbreak of the war. There were also two Gymnasias, a Real-schule and a technical intermediate school. In 1906 in Serbia there were 1,172 elementary schools and twenty Gymnasias and Real-schulen, besides the University of Belgrade. The number had of course increased in the eight years before the outbreak of the war.

¹⁵I. e., after fifteen lines in all.

tional duty.” (He is adding the last words now.)

18 V 1916

Wound worse, discharging very freely. Looking miserable. Suicide by any sure means is impossible. “Wait to the end.” Resigned, but not really very sad.

(What do you think about?) Sometimes in a philosophical mood, sometimes poetical, sometimes quite prosaic. Thinks about the human soul. What is the essential in human life, instinct, or will, or spirit—what moves man?

Many who have spoken with him think he is a child, think that he was inspired by others, only because he cannot express himself sufficiently, is not in general gifted as a talker. Always a reader and always alone, not often engaging in debates.

Chabrinovitch and Grabez were with him in Serbia. The three had resolved to carry out the assassination. It was his idea. Thought first of an attempt on Potiorek.¹⁶ Had come from Belgrade to Sarajevo, to his brother's. Was always in com-

pany of Ilitch, who has since died; was his best friend. Resolved that one of them should make an attempt on Potiorek. That was in October or November, 1913. He¹⁷ was in the hospital. Ilitch was a little light-headed, spoke of pan-Slavist ideas, said they should first create an organization. In all Bosnia and Croatia. Then, when all was ready, they should make the attempt. Therefore the plan was given up. Wanted first to study further himself, at Belgrade in a library. Thought he was not yet ripe and independent enough to be able to think about it.

Went in February to Belgrade. Heard in March that the Heir Apparent¹⁸ comes to Sarajevo. Thought it would be a chance. Spoke with Chabrinovitch on this matter, who was of the same opinion. Chabrinovitch said he ought to leave the attempt

¹⁶General Potiorek was Governor of Bosnia.

¹⁷Ilitch probably.

¹⁸Archduke Franz Ferdinand.



COLONEL DRAGUTIN DIMITRIJEVITCH

Chief of the intelligence division of the Serbian General Staff who is believed to have directed the plot to assassinate Franz Ferdinand

to him. But he was a type-setter, not of sufficient intelligence. Thought he was not sufficiently nationalist because previously an anarchist and socialist. Said they would both do it.

(*So much changed inside?*) Read much in Sarajevo. In Sarajevo used to dream every night he was a political murderer, struggling with gendarmes and policemen. Read much about the Russian revolution, about the fightings. This idea had taken hold of him. Admits that the earlier constraints had vanished. * * *

Knows Grabez from boyhood, was also with him at Belgrade. Knew that he had similar thoughts. In March Grabez takes examination in the eighth class and returns to Sarajevo to prepare for *matura*. Said to him to tell Ilitch. This one¹⁹ agreed. But he had no energy. Reading had—he confessed—made him quite slack. Ilitch was under his²⁰ influence, though he was five years older and already a teacher. Wrote he himself would also take part. Said he should procure five or six weapons. In cipher writing.

Grabez came back again to Belgrade a fortnight later, resolved on participation. First Princip told him to save himself for another occasion. But then when he came back to Belgrade, he said he would participate. Major Tankositch knew at the last moment, when they were already mentally ready.

Ciganovitch, a Bosnian Serb, was there as deserter. Princip told him about it because he had bombs, he was *komitadji*.²¹ When he was ready to go back to Sarajevo he told him who it was that the attempt

was to be made against. Ciganovitch promised him also to procure revolvers from Tankositch, who was chief of *komitadjis*. Then got the revolvers. Went then, at the end of May, the 26th of May, to Sarajevo.

In the following month he was still able to read and study quietly. Had a nice library, because always was buying books.

Books for me signify life. Therefore now so hard without books.

Thought that as a result of repeated attempts at assassination there could be built up an organization such as Ilitch desired, and that then there would be general revolution among the people. Now comprehends that a revolution, especially in the military state of Austria, is of no use. What he now thinks the right thing he would not say. Has no desire to speak on the matter. It makes him unquiet to speak about it. When he thinks by himself, then everything is clear, but when he speaks with anybody, then he becomes uncertain.

If he had something to read for only 2-3 days, he could then think

more clearly and express himself better. Does not speak to anybody for a month. Then when I come he wants to speak about ideas, about dominating thoughts. He considered that if he prepared the atmosphere the idea of revolution and liberation would spread first among men of intelligence and then later in the masses. Thought that thereby attention of the *intelligentsia* would be directed upon it. As for instance Mazzini did in Italy at the time of the Italian liberation. Thought that the Kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro should be united.

5 VI

When permission has come, arm is to be amputated. His usual resigned disposition.

* * *



FRANZ FERDINAND

The Austrian Archduke who was assassinated at Sarajevo in 1914

LIGHT ON THE WAR GUILT CONTROVERSY

Out of this disjointed tale the psychologist will separate the various currents that

flowed together to sweep Princip toward the consummation of the violent deed. He

¹⁹Probably Grabez.

²⁰I. e., Princip's.

²¹I. e., member of one of the *komitadji* bands formed for guerrilla warfare against the Turks.

will reckon how much is to be laid to bad health and a neurotic temperament, how much to the stupidity and violence of the Austro-Hungarian system in Bosnia, and how much the assassin and his colleagues were worked on by other better balanced and more deliberate schemers. For investigators of the methods by which revolution becomes the obsession of impressionable young men and violence the obvious means, Princip's sentences also piece together an instructive tale. Above all, students of the question of war responsibility will find here important light on the manner in which the assassination was organized and carried out.

The murder "was his idea," writes Dr. Pappenheim, transposing Princip's words. Allowance is to be made for the assassin's desire for the full glory accruing from what he still evidently thought of as an act of patriotism. But against this, again, must be set the fact that he was already in the very arms of death, and, further, that at the moment of speaking all seemed lost and his act seemed likely to produce nothing to compensate for the disaster and suffering it had brought on "his people" and their kinsmen in devastated Serbia. Princip repudiates the suggestion that he had not brought the idea for an assassination with him when he came to Belgrade from Bosnia. He states that he had first thought of an attempt on the life of General Potiorek, but agreed with Ilitch (his crony in Sarajevo) that they should defer action until they had studied further and become more "ripe." At the trial he testified: "Even when I was still at Sarajevo I had decided on an *attentat*. I often went at night to Zerajitch's grave. I managed to stay there all night and thought over our

affairs and our wretched condition, and then I made up my mind."²² Serbia was scarcely alluded to throughout the trial.

Then the occasion for an even more effective deed presented itself—the visit of the Archduke to Sarajevo. It is to be noticed that the immediate suggestion came from Bosnia. Not only did these Bosnian revolutionaries carry over into Serbia their incipient plot, but the stimulus to final action came also from outside Serbia, from Austro-Hungarian soil. Moreover—and this is important—it was only when the plotters were "already mentally ready" that they presented themselves to Major Tankositch, a Serbian *komitadji* leader, and secured their arms. Princip claims that up to the last moment Ciganovitch, the intermediary between the conspirators and Tankositch, did not even know against whom the plot was aimed; if this is true, Tankositch was also ignorant of the details up to the final stage.

While Princip's body was decaying, his mind remained active and his spirit high. As he lay in his cell, the door of which was never to open for his living body to pass through, his brain was busy—at night with "beautiful dreams," by day with speculation about the ideas that control men's action, with patriotic thoughts about his unhappy country, and in preparing himself for the death that, when he planned to murder the Archduke, he had deliberately accepted as inevitable. Twisted by contrary emotions, he was still hoping against hope that out of his criminal act somehow good would come.

²² From selections from the protocol of the Sarajevo trial, published in the *Slavonic Review*, March, 1926.



Government by Dictators—A New Phase of European History

By FRANCESCO NITTI
FORMER PRIME MINISTER OF ITALY

WHAT characterizes imbeciles and weak men is that in all difficulties of life, instead of making an effort to rise to a situation, they place their hope in chance. Social classes that are losing ground are like individuals: when in difficulties they expect the miraculous to happen.

An excitable workman declares there is no other solution but revolution; a conservative without energy asserts that there is no other solution but dictatorship. Revolution and dictatorship are the lay miracle of unintelligent or at least ill-balanced men. The social level of each country is determined by individual effort; if each and every individual chooses to await the miracle, the nation is thereby weakened as a whole.

Before the World War all Europe was progressing and constituted a living economic unity. Now Europe is threatened by various forms of disorder, which are almost always based on the same methods. There is not much difference between the opposed forms of revolution and reaction. Europe as a whole has now a post-war budget which is scarcely encouraging. Instead of twenty-five States freely exchanging their products there are thirty-five, the majority of which are waging economic warfare against each other, with very rigorous customs barriers which render raw materials and the effort of labor useless. Instead of a single contested territory, as in the case of Alsace-Lorraine, there are now nine or ten. Instead of a single Austria-Hungary, that is, a country composed of people of different blood and speaking different languages, all under one rule, there are five or six. Europe as a whole has become a debtor continent, and instead of making peace, it has 1,000,000 more men under arms than before the war.

But the most serious fact is that though we made war on Wilhelm II and on German imperialism and justified that war by the fact that they represented militarism and the negation of liberty, there are now peoples who fought in the name of liberty who have lost all liberty themselves.

Before the war there was in Europe only

one absolute monarchy—Russia. But even Russia did not dare to admit her autocracy completely; in all official publications the definition "Constitutional Democracy under an autocrat" was used. But even the power of the Czar was limited by laws, tradition and religion.

Before the war, then, there existed no real dictatorships in Europe. That phenomenon of the Middle Ages—the seizure of the State by a General or a political adventurer and the establishment of a rule contrary to the State's Constitution and contrary to all freedom and all law—occurred only sporadically in certain of the most backward countries of Central and Southern America.

There are now in Europe both "red" and "white" dictatorships; there are ruthless dictatorships and comic opera dictatorships, as in Italy and Spain. Among the number of present-day dictators, not one personality of value has been revealed; neither a Caesar nor a Napoleon, but small men, devoid of any idea, or program, or tendency that is not either vulgar or brutal. Very often they show themselves to be boasters rather than serious men. There are in Europe today dictators who only yesterday were Communists; Mussolini himself before his rise to dictatorship defended regicide and exalted anarchistic attempts at assassination and the most outrageous acts of violence against God and religion; and proclaimed throughout the public streets in all the cities of Italy the most incendiary programs: abolition of banks and Stock Exchanges, cession of land to the peasants, taking over of railroads by railway employees, and so forth. The "white" dictatorships were begun in Hungary by an Admiral, were continued in Italy by a former Communist; in Spain, in Greece (where the dictatorship is now eliminated) and in Poland, as well as in certain small countries like Lithuania, by Generals. Bulgaria and Rumania have stern and often criminal dictatorships. The horrors of the Rumanian dictatorship in Bessarabia are a disgrace to our civilization.

Even in France, in Great Britain, in Belgium, in Czechoslovakia, there are re-

actionary parties, virulent nationalists, visionaries who aspire to dictatorship or to forms of disguised reaction. They will probably fail, because in all serious countries with a serious political tradition, all attempts of the nature of Italian Fascism are viewed with contempt; but nevertheless they represent noisy and troublesome groups.

But the typical case of dictatorship is that which now exists in Italy, which is the most interesting and the most dangerous type of all. Even reactionaries abroad consider it with a certain amount of sympathy. There are people who think that dictatorship is the expedient of reaction, a simple means of stifling the labor movement, of constructing a nationalist policy cheaply and of putting expansionist programs into effect. Sometimes their "sporting" spirit leads them to laugh at and find pleasure in certain episodes without penetrating their true nature or their consequences.

Dictatorship may be either legal or illegal. Legal dictatorship in antiquity was sometimes even the safeguard of democratic forms. Ancient Rome, in the period of greatest democracy, introduced dictatorship. The word "dictator" comes from *dictare*, to command. When the Roman Senate found itself in conflict with the popular assemblies or with the Consul, or when there was imminent public danger, the Senate itself appointed a Dictator to meet the crisis. The Dictator was then a magistrate named by the legal authorities. His power was absolute and fixed by law at a six-month period. He was usually assisted by a military leader. When the problem was solved or the crisis surmounted the Dictator usually resigned after a few weeks or a few months, generally before the expiration of his legal term. But during the period of his power, all authority, except that of the tribunes of the people, gave way before him.

The form of legal dictatorship for a certain period has in it, then, nothing fundamentally unjust, or humiliating, or even contrary to sound democracy. But the forms of dictatorship that have arisen in Europe are only adventures of parties consecrated to violence. It is easy and often even agreeable to assume a dictatorship. Instead of thinking, fighting, struggling, it is found expedient to transfer the whole solution to a single party, to a single man. At first sight this seems very simple. But the difficulty is to eliminate the dictatorship later. All personal power necessarily tends to defend itself, that is, to abolish all opposition. But to do this, it is necessary to nullify and

destroy the law and resort to violence. This means that the dictatorship, to preserve its own existence, must abolish all individual guarantees and transform itself into a rule of oppression. All oppression engenders hatred and the bloodiest persecutions. A country under a dictatorship is inevitably transformed into a country of slaves and rebels. The mass are the slaves, the superior minds are the rebels. Then the motive that had determined the dictatorship, viz., the desire of order and the hope of eliminating conflicts, no longer exists. Conflicts lose all civil spirit and are changed into savage and bloody persecutions. Dictatorships are always proclaimed as a necessity to avoid revolution, but they always lead to revolution. All the dictatorships of modern history have ended in revolution or war. When the dictatorship must choose it always chooses war as a way of resolving the difficulties that confront it with the least humiliation possible. Dictatorship, then, always means in modern history war and afterward revolution.

I have never hitherto been willing to write of the responsibilities and crimes imputed to Italian Fascism. Almost all the large European and American papers have requested interviews and articles from me on the crimes of Fascism in Italy, but I have never consented to accord such interviews or to write such articles. As head of Italian democracy, I was not willing to take part in the Chamber of Deputies, because I have never recognized Fascism as a legal *de jure* Government, but only as a *de facto* Government. In speaking of Fascism I have preferred to discuss it as a political phenomenon. My moderate attitude has been recognized even by my adversaries. After the march on Rome, aided by a part of the officers of the army, Fascism has governed Italy under the form of a dictatorship. It has now been in power since the end of 1922. The results may now be discussed and defined without prejudice. This has been done admirably by H. G. Wells.

THE RISE OF FASCISM

The founders of Fascism were mostly Communists and revolutionaries who, after having attempted a "red" revolution and having failed in this, used the same organization for a "white" revolution, in which they succeeded, with the help of a part of the army and of the parties of reaction. The movement was joined by the lower middle class, which was in a critical condition; by political visionaries and by adventurous

spirits. Mussolini, who had personally taken part in the most violent acts of the "red" parties, did not himself have any very precise program. He was only an adventurous spirit who wished to dominate in one form or another. He would have preferred a "red" victory and professed to be an extremist. But the Socialists did not want a revolution, and Mussolini consequently marshaled all the discontented elements on the other side—the Agrarians, the war profiteers, the bankrupt nobility and emotional youths, ready to follow any emotional program. Fascism is nothing but Mussolini, with all his faults and virtues. Despite all assertions to the contrary, the other elements of Fascism are absolutely insignificant, and it is only Mussolini's personality that has any political and historical interest. Mussolini is not a modern man; he is the Italian type of the Middle Ages. He does not go far; he comes from afar.

After four years Fascist domination has closed down over Italy; and no constructive program has arisen. Four years ago Mussolini had with him the Conservatives and even certain Liberals, democratic Catholics (*Populari*). But the abolition of all legality led to the abolition of all cooperation. *Tutto il paese a tutto il fascismo* (the whole country for the whole of Fascism), is the cry of the Fascisti.

The foreigners who visit Italy, especially the English and the Americans, see nothing. They rarely speak Italian and speak it with difficulty. They stay at the large hotels and are satisfied with the order that apparently reigns. They never speak to people of the working class. They cannot understand, or make themselves understood, by the workmen and peasants. No one ever says anything unfavorable to the Fascist régime to these travelers, who are pleased to see that the railway trains are running in Italy (as they are running in all other countries, be it observed), and who repeat this banal discovery on all occasions.

ALL CRITICISM PUNISHED

The question is: *Why does no one in Italy ever attack Mussolini verbally to the Americans who visit Italy?* The answer is simple. A law was passed on Dec. 24, 1925, decreeing that any one who insults the Duce, or head of the Government, by word or deed, shall be punished by heavy fines and imprisonment of from six to thirty months. In America one can criticize Mr. Coolidge and in France, even in the cabarets, one can speak against M. Doumergue. But in Italy no one can make the least little criticism

of Mussolini without running the risk of imprisonment. The American visiting Italy, however, will never hear any one speak against Mussolini. The luckless Italian citizen who would venture to do so would be at the mercy of Fascista bands, and he, his wife and his children would probably be killed.

He would find no judges. The law of Nov. 24, 1925, gives the Government the right to dismiss any official and even any Magistrate who is not completely in sympathy with the Fascista Government. He would find no lawyer. A law has decreed that to be a lawyer one must belong to a Fascist corporation; one must, at all events, not be hostile to Fascism, that is, one must be neither a Liberal nor a Democrat, nor a member of the Catholic or Popular Party. He would find no newspaper to voice his protest, because the free press has been completely abolished and the Italian press of today publishes only the same features. One cannot be a journalist without belonging to Fascism. The law of Dec. 31, 1925, gives the Government the right to censure, or even to suppress, all papers unfavorable to it.

He would find no political organization willing to defend him. All free associations have been abolished, all right of assembly abolished. The law of Nov. 25, 1925, forbids the existence of the Freemasons, as it forbids the existence of all other independent associations! He would be unable to find in his home city any one able to defend him, or any one to speak in his favor in a local council or in Parliament. Parliament, as a matter of fact, has been abolished. All local administrations have been abolished as free institutions and replaced by the *podestas*, that is, Fascista officials, men who often have a terrible past of criminality and violence.

If the man accused of speaking ill of Fascism to an American traveler should wish to emigrate, he would be unable to do so; no passports are given to adversaries, who must remain in Italy as hostages! He could not live quietly and hold any position, because no employment is given to any one who is not a member of the Fascista corporations. He would be persecuted by the Fascista militia, who are paid by the State and are in the service of the Fascista Party. As janitors have been transformed into police agents, as in the days of the Czar in Russia, he could not even go to see his friends without exposing them to the gravest dangers. If his house was not wrecked and his life made unbearable, the

most favorable fate for him would be deportation. The law of Nov. 6, 1926 (unparalleled throughout the world), Article 184, decrees that any Italian citizen may be deported if he has committed, or manifested the intention of committing, acts hostile to the social, national or economic order (that is, practically speaking, hostile to Fascism). The deportation, which is carried out by order of Fascista committees, may be for a term of from one to five years. In this way the Fascist bands have the life, the fortune and the honor of every citizen at their mercy.

It is very curious to read often in the American press the statement that there is no protest against the Government in Italy. No one protests in Italy, and there are even manifestations of baseness. All tyranny has the effect of producing such baseness and of depraving political assemblies. Everything in Italy today recalls the worst periods of the late Roman Empire, when the great historian, Tacitus, beheld spectacles of baseness on every hand. In the days of the decadence of Rome, says Tacitus, all those who did not dare to face the struggle—Consuls, Senators, Knights—took refuge in servitude. The higher and greater the family to which they belonged, the greater the baseness and falsity they displayed. (*At Romae ruere in servitium consules, patres, equites; quanto quis illustrior, tanto magis falsi ac festinantes.*)

NO OPPOSITION TOLERATED

Since the law of Nov. 6, 1926, there have been deported a large number of people, even Liberals, Conservatives and Catholics, a large number of Deputies, university professors, Mayors of large cities and even former Ministers of State! No opposition is tolerated; the Fascisti have the courage to declare that the time when everyone used his own head for thinking has gone forever. University professors are expelled; everything must think as Mussolini thinks. Yet only yesterday Mussolini himself was almost an Anarchist, an insulter of God and the fundamental principles of our civilization. Now he is a reactionary and defends all that he has been insulting for over twenty years! What will he do tomorrow? Is a nation of 40,000,000 people to be deprived of freedom to do its own thinking?

People are wounded, violently treated and killed—no trial! Every day in the Fascist press one may read eulogies of crime, violence, war and anti-Semitism, which hitherto has not existed in Italy, is develop-

ing more and more each day. Attempts at assassination are invented. The Government finds it necessary to send secret agents to all other countries charged to corrupt, wherever possible, the foreign press.

After having persecuted all his adversaries, Mussolini must now be on his guard against his friends and especially his colleagues. "I am the State." One no longer knows what the function of the King is; one does not even know what that of the Government is. Distrusting every one and especially his friends, Mussolini has concentrated all functions in his own person. Such a paradoxical absurdity has never been duplicated in modern life: Mussolini at one and the same time is (1) Prime Minister; (2) Minister of Foreign Affairs; (3) Minister of War; (4) Minister of the Navy; (5) Minister of Aviation; (6) Minister of the Interior; (7) Minister of Corporations (viz., Minister of Labor); (8) Commander-in-Chief of the National Fascist Militia; (9) Leader of Fascism and President of the Fascista Council which is now the real Parliament.

Before his rise to power Mussolini had never concerned himself with policies or administration in a serious way. But even a statesman of great ability and high efficiency could not do simultaneously all that Mussolini pretends to do. The Fascisti, divided among themselves, find it necessary to create a myth—viz., that it is Mussolini who conducts and controls everything, peace and war, domestic policy and foreign policy, who thinks and acts for every one. He cannot, of course, do everything, and the men grouped around him do what they wish without incurring any responsibility for their acts.

BAD ECONOMIC SITUATION

Every one admits that the Italian situation is absurd, but abroad people say that Fascism has given Italy a certain economic prosperity. The truth is, however, that Italy has never been in such a bad economic situation and in such an alarming state of finance. But it is forbidden to speak of this. Who can describe the real situation? Salaries are being reduced daily; prices are being raised; unemployment is steadily increasing. But the Italian press must pass this in silence. The word "unemployment" cannot be pronounced. Even the official statistics furnished by the various Governments to the League of Nations give for December, 1926, the number of unemployed in Italy as 191,709, as compared with France, 17,178. In January, 1927, the num-

ber increased to 38,350 for France and in February to probably 70,000. In Italy there are now probably from 350,000 to 400,000 unemployed. But in France, both in the press and in Parliament, they speak continuously of unemployment; in Italy the word "unemployment" cannot even be published in the papers without danger. The average American traveler declares, consequently, that in Italy there is no unemployment!

The industrial situation and the credit situation in Italy have been made worse by Fascism, but the Fascist papers repeat every day that the posture of affairs is very favorable. And as there are many ignorant Fascist agents, they even believe it. The Fascist Government adopts the same methods in finance as those used in matters of domestic policy. There were 21,000,000,000 lire in Treasury bonds falling due within shorter or longer periods; the Government transformed them into a consolidated debt at the cost of an enormous loss for the owners, citizens and bankers. But as the Government needed money and could not have recourse to Treasury bonds after its failure to pay, it made a new consolidated issue. This was one of the most comic spectacles ever seen in the financial history of the world. The public was compelled to buy at 87.50 a consolidated loan that could have been bought on the Stock Exchange for much less than 80! Market prices slumped; the bankers were threatened with death and it was officially announced that the names of sellers would be published!

But the loan issue was, as the ancients were wont to say, the *experimentum crucis*, the decisive test showing the absolute lack of confidence by the Italian public. Every means was employed to force the public to subscribe. All merchants were compelled to give a security in State bonds; all employes, officials, railway workers and even laborers were forced to buy the new loan certificates. But what a fiasco! The Government collected after all only some 3,000,000,000 lire!

The two large preceding loans were made by Nitti under the most difficult conditions. The first loan after the military disaster at Caporetto brought in more than 6,000,000,000 (and the dollar stood then only at 6.84 lire); the second loan, in 1920, made to avoid inflation, brought in more than 21,000,000,000. But at that time every citizen was free and gave with confidence. The impoverished Italian public today has the deepest distrust of the Fascist State. A State that controls everything is also a State that guarantees nothing.

It is impossible to ascertain the real truth about the present Italian budget. I myself, who have had long experience in respect to Italian finances, cannot understand it. Mysterious decrees have been issued, like that of June 5, 1926, which creates an artificial budget and which does not reveal to us either the real military expenses or the real financial situation. With its decree of Feb. 18 the Fascist Government disposes of all the money which the Italian industrialists borrow abroad.

CONSTANT THREAT OF WAR

But the gravest thing is that Fascism always represents a threat of war. It *must* make war. Mussolini has declared this frequently; and even now the Fascisti iterate and reiterate that Italy must wage a new war. They even say that Italy must have an Empire; that the Mediterranean Sea must become an Italian lake. Italy's Fascist Government has insulted Greece, outraged Germany, provoked France and threatened Turkey. True, Italy is in no position to war at present; she lacks raw materials and industrial organizations. The war spirit, however, is a menace to the whole world.

The Italian Fascists always speak of an "Empire" in their papers. What kind of an Empire? An Italian Empire is inconceivable without a war on France. I do not believe that Italy, which has a large population and a small territory, needs an Empire. It does not need colonies; it needs freedom. What the Italians should demand is the free movement of labor and trade. Colonies are useful only for the export of capital. Italian Fascism proclaims an Empire which is but the figment of diseased imaginations. But the Fascists, in their feverish excitement, have brought about a veritable xenophobia (hatred of foreigners) approved by the censorship, in the Italian press. The papers of the Dictatorship speak seriously of war, and the censorship, which suppresses all liberty, all liberal opposition, even Conservative and Catholic, consents to a defense of the cheap, vulgar and at the same time dangerous platitudes of imperialism. There is nothing that predisposes men's minds more to war than incessant talking about war.

Above all, Fascism has suppressed all liberty, all individual guarantees, all security of life in Italy. The Italian people have lost the habit of smiling. There is a permanent state of feverish excitement. In order to perpetuate its own existence the Dictatorship must continually excite the people and excite itself.

This vast sacrifice and suffering of a whole nation, which has seen the destruction of the effort of so many people—thinkers, statesmen, scholars—could be endured with less disgust and hatred if this brutal tyranny had at least brought about a certain amount of economic prosperity. On the contrary, Fascism has made the relations between capital and labor less favorable. If the right of striking is abolished, if the freedom of labor is abolished, this does not mean that people's feelings have changed; they have, on the contrary, as the result of repression, become much more intense.

Mussolini takes pleasure in repeating that Fascism is the negation of the principles of liberty and democracy and ultimately the negation of the rights of man proclaimed by the French Revolution of 1789. But what are those principles but the bases of modern civilization, the principles of the great American Constitution of 1787, which has been the source of the great moral and political power of America?

DICTATORSHIPS A TEMPORARY DISEASE

We must consider the present dictatorship in Italy as a phenomenon of perversion brought about by the war, as a temporary disease which degrades the people afflicted by it and threatens other peoples. The results of the two great European dictatorships—the "red" dictatorship in Russia and the "white" dictatorship in Italy—are not such as would encourage other ventures of the same order. If the Russian dictatorship endures it will be only by a process of transformation which is already showing itself clearly. Russia has never known liberty and the Czarist régime was fundamentally much more immoral than the present dictatorship. Russia did not have, nor does it have today, a large middle class of liberal traditions. The large majority of its population is composed of peasants, who have become in fact, if not by legal process, the owners of the land. But even in Russia the situation is undergoing constant change and sooner or later it will lead to the establishment of a democracy.

As for the other "white" dictatorships which are devastating the European Continent, they are all destined to disappear in short order. The Spanish dictatorship, more ridiculous than severe, is already in difficulties. The Polish dictatorship is very weak. The Hungarian dictatorship is completely discredited. The Rumanian dictatorship is weak and vacillating. As for the Italian dictatorship, which is violent and

imperialistic, if it does not end in war it will end in revolution; it is already threatened with swift internal dissolution.

Régimes of violence have always perished by violence. In civilized countries only liberty lasts, and liberty only is the system that allows all social forms to develop and to effect prosperity both at home and abroad. Dictatorship is always a preparation for war, and preparation for war is a synonym for revolution.

These truths are so simple and the historical examples and even the examples of the present time are so obvious, that the tolerance and even sometimes the sympathetic attitude that the dictatorships of Europe find in free countries like America are hard to understand. The truth is that the phenomena of violence and bloodshed are attractive to the great masses who are devoid of idealism. Even in civilized countries all too many people of primitive and barbarous instincts are still to be found. One may possess a typewriter, travel by railway, use a telephone and yet remain a barbarian. Superiority is not found in material wealth, but in the development of human personality and in moral sentiments. There are people who think themselves modern yet who react against violence only in imitation of others. Taking workmen by the throat instead of taking them by the hand, dominating a country with an armed minority, attracts men who think that by such methods they can eliminate present difficulties. But all violence is transitory and the problem remains unchanged.

Wealth is not a treasure comparable with liberty. It is my belief that the citizens of the United States would prefer to renounce wealth rather than accept the laws of Italian Fascism. If armed bands in America could suppress the press, all houses of Government, all local administrative councils, all individual guarantees, and even have the right to deport their adversaries without a trial, I believe the Americans would prefer every suffering to enduring such a régime. But it is also true that there is no wealth without liberty. A people enslaved means not only an unhappy people; a people enslaved and impoverished are doomed to certain decay.

The laws of life always remain the same, and the terrible experiments of the present day will be, and sooner than we think, not only destined to disappear, but will be considered the darkest phenomenon of the post-war period, a shame to our era and a blot upon our civilization.

PARIS, France, March, 1927.

Italy's Colonial Possessions in Africa

By EDWIN W. HULLINGER

AUTHOR, JOURNALIST AND LECTURER

ON the northern coast of Africa, along which once swept the war galleys of Carthage, Rome, and later those of Turkey, Italy is entering upon an enterprise which Mussolini hopes will be the most far-reaching colonization project undertaken by Italians since the days of the Romans.

On a stretch of land between France's great African empire to the west and the quasi-British Egyptian territory to the east, Mussolini is trying to repeople with Italians the long-abandoned Roman province of Lybia. If he succeeds the Dictator will have the dual satisfaction of having effected one of the most important colonial enterprises on the Mediterranean in recent centuries—second only to the brilliant efforts of the French in Tunisia and Algeria—and of providing a partial solution of one of Italy's most serious internal problems, that of overpopulation.

The venture is worthy of more than passing notice, not only because of its bearing on the problem just mentioned, but because of its relation to Italy's future territorial policy, a feature of Fascism that has caused no little uneasiness in the other countries of Europe. Will Mussolini succeed in directing a sufficiently large portion of Italy's excess population into this old-new African colony, relieving the pressure inside Italy to an extent that will satisfy the nation's call for more "room in which to breathe"? Can Fascist Italy sink itself into North Africa and thereby avoid trying to jostle any of the other European nations from their present holdings in the "dark" continent? It is still too early to answer. Certain it is that the Black Shirts have made remarkable progress toward this goal in the short space of the last four years, since they completed the military conquest and pacification of the territory. But there are several heavy obstacles which Mussolini must overcome if Lybia is to be made into a country fit for the residence of Europeans. The most important is the need for large sums of capital for development purposes. And it is too soon to say whether this need will be met adequately. That a

strenuous attempt is to be made is assured. I recall the fervor with which the Dictator told his Fascist colonials in Tripoli, at the end of his memorable tour of the colony, that thenceforth his "full strength" would be thrown behind the development of "an important colony" in Africa. Among other things he said:

I assure you that my trip will have an important repercussion in Italy. I will see to it that Italy realizes the possibilities that await here. We are a people who reproduce rapidly, and we are going to continue to do so. Italy is hungry for land. Here is an opportunity to satisfy that hunger. I am going to interest Italian capital in Africa. And I am going to see to it that you get a good class of immigrants, people who have both will and ability.

"There is much to be done here," Mussolini said to me a few hours later, in a conversation on board the cruiser Venezia, as the ship lay at anchor in the beautiful Bay of Tripoli. "And it *will be done!*" he added grimly.

Throughout Italy the Dictator has set workmen to digging up the ruins of monuments from the debris which the centuries have piled on them. In Africa, Mussolini is undertaking to retrieve for economic use an entire ruined colony, an area that once was one of Rome's most flourishing granaries. He is aiming to restore it to a state where it can serve as home for many of modern Italy's surplus inhabitants, and supply food once more for the millions in the peninsula. The significance of this will be appreciated when it is recalled that in the days of the Romans this province possessed an acreage under cultivation more than double the total area under cultivation in the Italian mainland today.

For more than a thousand years this old Roman granary has lain abandoned, serving as a battleground for Arab tribes or as a meager pasturage for the herds of desert nomads. Since the Moslem conquest of North Africa, shortly after the Hegira, no serious effort has been made to develop the district. Even the Turks, who preceded the Italians as masters of the region, were content to leave things as they were—which is

to say, desolate. Of the vast orchards which once covered the terrain, scarcely a trace remained. On the top of a mountain, near Garia, 150 miles inland, I saw a little olive orchard, said to be the descendant of an old Roman plot. It was pointed out with pride by our Italian mentor. Elsewhere the terrain was empty. The ancient fertility of the district seemed as forgotten as were the ruins of its classical cities that dotted the Mediterranean coast line.

ITALIAN ACHIEVEMENT IN LYBIA

Until very recently, little notice had been taken of Lybia—which includes the two provinces of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania—even in Italy. It seemed too bleak and void for any practical thought. Italy acquired the territory from Turkey in 1912, but the military conquest of the region was not completed until 1924. (Italy found it necessary to use military force again in these districts in 1926.) Virtually all the economic development that has taken place dates from 1924. It took no small amount of vision and faith to see a future in the dry, empty wastelands that stretched away seemingly without end, like the vast arid regions of the American Southwest, now also being reclaimed for the use of man. But North Africa was one of the first big "external" problems to receive Mussolini's attention.

Will Mussolini succeed? At least this

much can be said: The Fascisti have accomplished results that are truly remarkable in the colony's development during the last three years. Despite the meager supply of capital at its disposal, the Colonial Government has pushed the exploitation of the territory with a speed that recalls the record of the great reclaimed districts of the United States.

Tripolitania has been knit together by a system of paved roadways. The total mileage built since 1924 is estimated at over 600 miles. During this period the frontier of cultivation has been moved thirty-five miles from the coast, sixty miles east along the coast and about the same distance west. This region is sparsely settled, but includes scattering ranch houses and several small towns (which call to mind the frontier towns of the American Far West). During 1925 alone the acreage of barley was increased from 125,000 to 400,000 acres. Three hundred thousand new olive trees were set out, bringing the total to 800,000, of which 464,000 are already bearing. Four thousand hectares of new land were prepared to be planted to orchards. Tripolitania has a total of 1,000,000 date palms now producing.

That the colony has great possibilities, provided necessary capital is forthcoming, is unquestionable. During the time I was in Tripolitania I covered some 800 miles of



A street scene outside the walls of Tripoli

territory. I talked with ranchers and with agricultural experts. The unanimous testimony of the people on the spot, plus what I could see on the surface, all bore out this conviction. I lived for ten years in regions in the American Far West which were reclaimed from aridity. The comparison between Tripolitania and the American West forced itself upon me continually. It strengthened the belief that, if properly exploited, Tripolitania can become one of the most fertile regions in the Old World, and absorb a large portion of Italy's surplus population for years to come. Dr. Carlo Pinni, head of the Colonial Agricultural Department, told me that if the present rate of development is maintained Tripolitania will be able in three years to produce enough vegetables to feed all Italy. All the four large oases are immense gardens as well as date palm orchards. He believed that by 1940 Tripolitania would once more be able to meet Italy's needs in olives and olive oil, both of which commodities are extensively used in Italian households.

POLITICAL SITUATION—NEW ORGANIC LAW

All natural conditions are favorable for the creation of a prosperous agricultural district. The soil is adapted for olive trees or vegetables; grain to a less degree. The land is fertile, and the cost of reclaiming it is not excessive. Dr. Pinni estimated it at 1,500 lire (about \$540) per hectare in the case of orchard land and half that amount in the case of land intended for grain. As a matter of fact, most of the land now under cultivation is ultimately intended for orchards. The fields are planted with grain for the sake of a limited income while the trees are maturing.

Most important of all, artesian water is to be found nearly everywhere at a depth of from 21 to 250 feet beneath the surface. The cost of irrigation is not heavy once the irrigation system is completed. In this latter feature, Tripolitania surpasses Tunisia, the French protectorate to the west (at which the Italians are casting longing eyes). Tunisia often has serious water shortages. Tripolitania can be protected against this calamity.

The climate in this part of Africa is similar to that in Southern Italy eight months of the year; but it is hotter in the Summer. The zone of arable land extends several hundred miles inland from the coast, and agricultural experts say the quality of the soil compares favorably with that of Italy. The total area now under cultivation does not exceed *one per cent.* of the terri-

tory formerly cultivated by the Romans, according to Dr. Pinni.

The political situation at present is favorable. The territory contains only about 2,000,000 natives, most of whom are passive in temperament—a mere handful for this area. Most of the natives are too ignorant and unlettered to take any active interest in political matters. This mass of humanity is always capable of being aroused by an appeal to religious prejudice, but at the moment the danger of this is small. Deprived of their leaders—the Italians have seen to it that the old chiefs who opposed them have been "liquidated"—the natives are inclined to let themselves be governed without protest. All that I saw indicated that the Italians have handled this phase of the situation with acumen and foresight. They have been firm, but not unduly oppressive; they seem to have gained the natives' respect without having aroused unnecessary resentment. It is still too early to judge the effect of the new "organic law for the administration of Cyrenaica and Tripoli," approved by the Italian Government early in March, 1927, on recommendation of Luigi Federzoni, Minister of Colonies. This new law revokes rights to universal suffrage, colonial parliamentary systems and other forms of local governmental autonomy granted the colonies by the laws of June 1, 1919, and Oct. 31, 1919. The explanation made public by Signor Federzoni at the time was as follows:

The moment has come to reorganize the colonies in conformity with the superior exigencies of the Fascist régime, destroying the vain and dangerous democratic-liberal superstructure with its puerile imitations of parliamentary institutions based upon universal suffrage.

Collaboration of the local populations in the Government is now to be restricted to those special and prudent limits permitted by their present historical evolution without damage to them or to our sovereignty.

The new organic law provides for complete administration and juridical reorganization in consonance with Fascist legislation. The local legislative power will be exclusively in the hands of Rome, the Governors having purely administrative functions.

The local populations, both metropolitan and native, will collaborate through a council of government and a general council, both to be named by the Governor. The first will aid him consultatively in the civil administration and the second will have the right, but only upon request of the Governor, to express desires and opinions on general subjects.

The Italian courts get full jurisdiction except for the narrowly restricted traditional competence of the Mussulman and Rabbinical tribunals.

With a native guide, picked up in a café, I visited many Arab homes and native gathering places in and near Tripoli, after Mussolini returned to Italy. I found plenty of national pride. The Italians were always looked upon as foreign conquerors. But nowhere did I find anything approaching hatred or ill-feeling. The average point of view was that the Italians were better than any foreign rulers that had preceded them, and possibly a shade better than others they could have. This region has been ruled by foreign authority so long that most of its populace have come to look upon this as the natural, normal arrangement. And the country is so large and so sparsely settled that there is ample room for the Europeans without crowding the natives. Millions of Italians could easily be poured into the district. The natives have never occupied themselves with the development of the region, having been content to live in the primitive fashion of their ancestors.

The port of Tripoli itself is a striking exhibit of the earnestness of the Italians' recent efforts. In 1924 the ocean front was a line of shabby shacks. Today it is fronted with a beautiful cement esplanade and a sea wall a mile long. Along the seashore a strip an eighth of a mile wide and three-quarters of a mile long has been dotted with new cement buildings, including a large hotel—built for the tourist traffic Tripoli hopes to attract—an opera house, two



Typical Arab houses in an oasis near Tripoli

banks and a number of business blocks. To the east of the bay on the hillside, one sees an increasing number of villas, built since 1924 by Italian business men and officials. Tripoli's main street, the Via Zizia (in the Italian quarter), has an atmosphere of real briskness, despite the many slow-moving white-robed figures of Arabs that wander up and down the arcaded sidewalks. One has a feeling of being in a place where *things are being done*. Yet all that has been done until the present is a mere scratch on the surface.

As things are now, Italian North Africa offers a "happy hunting ground" for tourists in search of 100 per cent. Arab life, unsullied by the vigorous Europeanization to which large portions of Tunisia, the more popular Winter resort for American Mediterranean tourists, has been subjected. For,

while the Italians have been very business-like on their new farms and in the European quarters of their towns, they have not disturbed the native settlements or attempted to influence native life. They have also had the artistic taste to adapt their buildings to the architectural styles of the zone. Wherever the French have touched they have set up little bits of Paris. The Italians have utilized the graceful lines and rich ornateness of Moorish architecture, and the result is very pleasing to the eye. Tripoli has no street cars, and most of the province still lies unprofaned by Western hands.

SCENES FROM "ARABIAN NIGHTS"

I recall the thrill I experienced when I first walked from the Governor's palace in Tripoli across the street and through an arched hole in the wall to find myself in the midst of a scene from the Bible. As far as I could see were white-robed figures, moving at the graceful, easy gait of the East. A camel, its owner stalking majestically beside it, thrust its nose against my ear. Donkeys, with Arab urchins astride their haunches (like Joseph in the Sunday school cards!) pushed their way through the crowds. On the vegetable market I passed long rows of beggars huddled against the wall. A near-by mosque raised its slender minaret against the clear African sky. On the outskirts of the city a hundred camels were resting for the night, after a long trip from the interior. Small caravans were arriving from the desert. I passed through street after street of whitewashed one-story houses, from which occasionally issued deeply veiled women and little children, or bright-eyed, unveiled Jewish women. It was a different world. North Africa is a land of intense color. The sunlight is blinding at times. The garments of the people, white or rich blue, are all of strong colors. The white outlines of the houses stand out vividly against the blue of the sky or the green of the palms in the oases. The air is so clear that one has a feeling of being on top of the world, all but against the sky.

And the life that is lived there seems like a story to the Occidental—strange customs, strange garbs, fascinating faces, the weird religious rites, the minarets from which the priests call to the faithful (a Moslem priest is his own church bell); the grotesque, wild native ceremonials during the Ramadan, the Moslem Easter, and the half-savage, primitive, lazy routine of the native villages. It is a stage made for pageants. It brings all things into a dazzling relief. Those of us who went with Mussolini on his tour of

the colony last year saw this latter feature at its best. A large part of those who took part in the tour lived up to the Orient's best standards of pageantry. It was a series of "Arabian Nights" tableaux. All the way from Tripoli to Sabratha, in the West, our motor caravan was escorted by relays of rapidly galloping Arab cavalymen. The distance was nearly seventy kilometers. Every town gave a hero's welcome. At Zavia we saw the "mad dance" of Ramadan. The village was echoing with the roll of desert drums as we entered. The square was nearly filled. In the centre, in an open space, a score of dervishes were whirling in insane rapture. In his hand each had a sharp iron instrument resembling an ice pick. At the climax of the ceremony each placed the point of the iron on his abdomen, and the master of ceremonies, an aged fanatic with a white beard, made the rounds with a wooden mallet in his hand, and pounded the irons to their hilt into the bodies of the performers. There was no hypnotism in the affair. I was only three feet away from several of the men. I could see the iron pass into the flesh; afterward I saw the hole after the iron had been withdrawn, and the blood. At Zarua, the end of the day's journey, a thousand mounted Bedouins charged across the desert, their rifles cracking, their white robes streaming behind, their horses at full gallop, in a stirring spectacle of wild beauty.

I remember our arrival the next day at Homs, once Leptis Magna, the Roman city that gave birth to Septimus Severus. Homs is now an Arab seaport, marking the eastern extremity of the zone of cultivation in Tripolitania. The ruins of the Roman settlement lie alongside the town. During the last three years the Fascisti have dug most of the city out from the sand that had covered it for centuries. No theatrical extravaganza could have been more beautiful, no carefully arranged stage effect more perfect in detail than the tableau that greeted us that noon as our motor caravan, exhausted barking, sped up to the fortress. Our high-speed caravan had had what, even for it, had been a hard drive. We had been racing across the desert since early morning. We left Tripoli at 6. The first halt had been at the oasis of Tripoli, which contains the ancient "suk-il-jemma," camel market. Fifteen hundred Arabs, their long arms raised in the Fascist salute, had formed a desert gauntlet down which our cars passed. Then Mussolini personally took the wheel of his auto and led the caravan in the fastest spurt it had had. He remained

at the wheel for forty kilometers, often attaining a speed of fifty miles an hour; it was all the other cars could do to keep up. We sighted the white outlines of the Moorish fortifications of Homs shortly before noon.

NATIVE WELCOME TO MUSSOLINI

Leading the flying cavalcade like a chief-tain of old, Mussolini dashed through the arched gate. The guns in the Italian citadel began booming a salute. The refrain was taken up by scores of tomtoms in the village. From the square in the centre of Homs came the sound of several thousand voices: "*Rai, rai, rai!*" (long live) mingled with the weird whine of the pipes, the shrilling of desert flutes and the cries of der-vishes. Green posters, plastered on the white walls welcomed Mussolini as the "new Caesar of modern Rome." The colorfulness of the costumes outdid anything we had seen, save only the spectacle the first day in Tripoli. The square was a mass of white, blue and red. Five large red canopies, under which sat Arab pipers, formed the centerpiece of the picture. Tribesmen, their robes flying, danced in front of the tents, while a native drum corps pounded tomtoms and shouted tribal chants. Hundreds of people, some garbed in white, some in blue, some in red, crowded the roofs of all buildings in sight, their arms raised in salute.

Other throngs stood in the streets. Rich Arab tapestries, draped from upper balconies, stood out sharply on the white walls of the houses. Italian flags fluttered from every point of vantage. Above us the sky was of deepest blue. At the end of one street we could see the blue of the Mediterranean. In the centre of this scene stood an Arab sheik, with his hand resting on the neck of a black stallion; the saddle was of black velvet, the trimmings were of silver. In making his speech of welcome the Arab leader presented the horse to Mussolini, hailing the Dictator as "a vivifier of men, a distributor of courage, water come to quench the thirst of dry Africa," and so forth.

That afternoon Mussolini inspected the ruins of the Biblical city. Leptis Magna was an important Mediterranean trading centre in the time of Christ. It was founded by the Phoenicians. It is one of the best-preserved of all the ruined cities on the Mediterranean, having been protected by layers of sand blown over it by the desert winds. It has had a rich history. It figured prominently in the wars between Caesar and Pompey. It next entered the spotlight as the birthplace of Septimus Severus, the first African-born to rule the Roman Empire. Septimus Severus built the magnificent palace, ruins of which may be seen today; the forum and the baths. Arabs partly de-



Remains of the Temple of Jove at Sabratha in Italian Tripolitania



The Italian colonies in Africa (indicated by the darker shading)

stroyed the city in the fourth century. Since then it has lain silent under the sands.

The trip through the entire province was a strange succession of glimpses of vigorous, modern pioneer life, new towns built by the Italians, occasional lonely ranch houses in the middle of plains that recalled the American desert, and stirring Arabian tableaux depicting a life that Occidentals know only in story books. With startling suddenness, one plunged from the twentieth century back into the era of Christ, and vice versa. On one mountain top in the South, where the hot winds of the Sahara blend with the softer currents that blow over the arable zone, we found an entire Arab city built twenty to thirty feet beneath the surface of the ground. In the

subterranean passages of this city, in houses some of which contain chambers of rare primitive beauty, pulses the daily life of a little city which probably has few duplicates anywhere in the world. It is only at Garia, however, that the Arabs live underground. Further west some of the savage Bedouins inhabit caves.

Such is Italian North Africa, picturesque, colorful, filled with violent contrasts, strange and bizarre, even barbaric, now ruled by a civilized and highly progressive nation whose ancestors ruled these districts before them over a thousand years ago. Will Italy—Fascista Italy—succeed in this vast and far-reaching colonization project? Only time will tell. So far the auguries have been most favorable.



Canada's Sixty Years of Confederation

By GEORGE M. WRONG

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

THE ten years from 1861 to 1871, one of the stormiest in the history of mankind, might well be called the federation era. It saw the supreme testing of one federation at the cost of a million lives in civil war; the creation of another, Germany, at the cost of the three wars by Prussia, on Denmark, on Austria and on France; and the peaceful setting up of a third federation, Canada, destined as time passed to prove a stimulus to similar movements in other parts of the British Empire.

Europe has not taken kindly to federalism. The experiment in Germany has not yet proved a conspicuous success and the other Great Powers have not moved toward federal union. It is in the New World that the federal idea has had free play. The whole of North America and much of South America are living under federal systems; the idea has gone over the sea to Australia; in a modified form it has reached South Africa; and India is moving toward it. Federal unions are not mere makeshifts, as they have been called in Great Britain and France, but embody the sound principle of uniting in one State a central authority for wider national affairs with a local authority for local affairs. Without the federal idea North America might have today twenty or thirty independent nations with the perennial danger of war that we find in Europe. Federalism divides responsibility, makes possible local adjustments to local needs, and, perhaps above all, creates free trade within the federal area. What would not federalism do to ease strife in the Balkans? It is no wonder that the dreams of enduring peace should include the federation of Europe and in the long last the federation of the world.

On July 1, 1927, Canada celebrated its sixtieth year as a federal union. It came into being just after the close of the American Civil War, and that long struggle had much to do with the creation of federal Canada, for the triumph of the Union meant a State so powerful, not merely in a commercial but in a military sense, that the straggling British colonies were forced to

realize that union would aid security. Before 1867 British North America consisted of scantily peopled areas, weak and divided. It spread from the Atlantic to the Pacific; it had half a dozen governments, each with its own separate policy; and its means of communication were primitive. Nova Scotia on the Atlantic had not yet rail communication with Canada, which then included only the present Provinces of Ontario and Quebec. Canada itself had no railway extending further West than the Detroit River. The great prairie country was a wilderness and ended in ranges of mountains which made access to British Columbia all but impossible. To create in this region, spreading from ocean to ocean, a single political system, and to make it possible to pass readily from one part of it to the other, may well have seemed little more than a dream. Yet the thing was done within a few years and Canada has just celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of its doing.

Two influences dominated the achievement, one coming from the British tradition, the other from the United States. The impalpable force of tradition expresses itself in manifold ways in daily life. It lies at the root of national feeling, of religious associations, of social habits, and it works in the secret places of the heart. No Briton or American can quite explain the thrill which, on stirring and, it may be, tragic occasions, the flutter of the national flag brings to him. All those divided colonies were British, and in respect to this there was no disagreement. The real conflict lay between the narrower and immediate local interests and the alluring but distant prospect of sharing in a creation which should some day be great. The smaller the pit the fiercer the rats; it was in the small colonies, for instance, Nova Scotia, the one longest under the British flag, that stormy opposition to federation appeared. It was based partly on local pride, the fear of taking second place in a wider union, partly on personal antagonisms. Dr. (afterward Sir Charles) Tupper was in office in Nova Scotia and the rival leader, Joseph Howe, was not ready on a great question to play

second fiddle to "that damned Tupper," as he expressed it. In Quebec the French element feared that they might become a helpless minority, in a wider union with the English-speaking colonies. When the time came to negotiate with remote British Columbia the local Governor, sent out from England, fearful, perhaps, of a loss of relative dignity, opposed the union, as did also local officials until assured that union would mean no loss of posts or income. We need not wonder at this pettiness. Political matters are not settled in detail by ideal principles; the vital point is that the ideal was achieved and endures. The most real difficulty was in the fears of the French, but they secured guarantees which made secure their control of what specially related to their French type of culture, their education, their religion and their laws based on the Code Napoléon.

A VAST PURCHASE

Thus it happened that on July 1, 1867, the Dominion of Canada came into being. Newfoundland, with insular obstinacy and suspicions, stayed out and so remains. The first union was comprised of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and the Canada of the time. For the moment the whole vast Northwest was no part of Canada. Soon, however, the new Dominion solved a problem not unlike that which the United States solved in securing Louisiana. It bought the Northwest and took over the Hudson Bay Company and its proprietary rights for the sum of £300,000. The company made a good bargain, for it got rid of the cost of government and retained in freehold the land about its posts and one acre in twenty of the Western lands as surveyed. But, as in all good bargains, the other side also profited. Canada secured a prairie empire which extended across half a continent and brought her to the mountains of British Columbia. Across the mountains to the Pacific Coast there was not yet even a wagon road. But the British tradition did its work. It proved easy to make terms with British Columbia once the opening of communications by road and rail was assured. So it came about that in 1871 British Columbia became a part of Canada, and in 1873 the one remaining fragment of British territory was acquired when the little colony of Prince Edward Island, under the cogent pressure of finance, entered the union. Newfoundland excepted, all the regions north of the frontier of the United States, except Alaska, had become a part of the great new Federal State, and the

thing was achieved in the six short years from 1867 to 1873.

If the British tradition was the chief factor in the federation of Canada, the United States unconsciously gave aid. The triumph of union by the Civil War was a real factor in bringing union in Canada. It is putting it mildly to say that Great Britain was not popular in the North during the Civil War, and Canada as British was viewed by many with unfriendly eyes. In 1854 Canada had made a reciprocity treaty with the United States which led to a free interchange in natural products. The treaty was to endure for ten years and then might be canceled after a year's notice. Such notice was given by the United States in 1865 and the treaty came to an end in 1866. No doubt the belief that Canada was getting the better of the bargain had something to do with the ending of the treaty, but perhaps anti-British feeling did more. Canada suffered by loss of trade, and it was the part of wisdom for the British provinces to create markets by trading the more freely among themselves—and federation meant free trade.

To this motive of commerce was added that for defense. In 1861 war between the United States and Britain was imminent over the Trent affair, and Canada would probably have been the chief scene of conflict. This fear was emphasized when the United States had a great victorious army which might in some crisis invade Canada. I do not myself think that the prospect disturbed the masses of the people in Canada, but to some leaders it was a tangible motive vigorously urged. Danger, too, there was in the West from the United States. Some twenty years earlier Oregon had gone to the United States, chiefly because American settlers had poured in, and if this should happen in the prairie country it might easily be lost to Great Britain. In addition to these tangible influences of the United States, it is amusing to know that the title of Canada is due to the United States. The Canadian framers of the new Constitution adopted the name "The Kingdom of Canada"; but when they went to London they found, in the days of tension about the Alabama claims, a nervous Foreign Secretary afraid that to set up a kingdom on the borders of the great republic might increase irritation; and so Canada took the title of Dominion, familiar in the olden time in Virginia. The name might mean anything.

At the time there was widespread indifference in England as to what might happen

to Canada. A few years earlier Canada had placed a duty on British manufactures which stirred furious but impotent wrath among, for instance, the cutlers of Sheffield. In addition, Canada had cost Great Britain large sums for sending out troops while the Trent affair was pending, but seemed unwilling to aid in its own defense. It was also asking perpetually for loans. To many in England Canada's obvious destiny was to cut adrift, either as a separate State or to join the United States; and some, including one of the most trenchant writers of the time, Goldwin Smith, made up their minds that the sooner this union was achieved the better. To another school the claim of the weak colonies to be a kingdom and in time the equal of Great Britain tended to excite derision. So Canada became a Dominion, and it was fancied opinion in the United States which caused the adoption of the title. Need we wonder that at the time a bill received support in Congress providing for the entrance of the British provinces into the union as States?

The event proved that British tradition was stronger in Canada than it was among some leading statesmen in England, that in Canada separation from Great Britain was never even contemplated, and that a political system fundamentally British in its character extended in North America from ocean to ocean. If federalism in Canada has the United States as its parent, the working federalism is dominated by British precedents. In Canada, following Great Britain, Parliament may be dissolved at any time, the Legislature makes and dismisses the Executive, there are permanent political leaders of each of the great par-

ties: Sir John Macdonald and Sir Wilfrid Laurier both led their parties for more than a quarter of a century, with no fear that a long term might set up a despotism. Canada has a national police which enforces order and makes impossible disorder in remote mining camps, or lynchings due to im-

patience at the possible feeble working of weak tribunals. Canada has, like England, one criminal law which applies to every one from Halifax to the Yukon. British tradition has made Canada willing to have its constitutional disputes settled by the authority of the King's Privy Council in London, on which sits a Canadian Judge. In Canada, as in England, the head of the State takes no part in shaping a policy, but acts on the advice of his Ministers, who sit in the Legislature and bring a mandate from the people, and so on. In these respects Canada has given a new turn to federalism in striking contrast with federalism in the United States.

I make bold to say that a second great federation of English-speaking people was a good thing for the United States. On one occasion when I was walking in Washington with the late Lord Bryce he waved his arm toward the Capitol and said: "If Canada did not exist it would be in the interests of the United States to create it."

Even under federalism a State may become too large to be governed from one national centre, and the existence of the two nations in North America may bring about happier results than would come to so vast a territory under a single political system.

In population Canada continues at the number and to increase at about the rate in the United States of a hundred years earlier. Sixty years ago Canada had about



Wide World.

W. L. MACKENZIE KING
Prime Minister of Canada



Map of Canada as it is after sixty years of confederation

3,500,000 people; it has now about 10,000,000. The rate of growth has been slow, but in recent years the acceleration has been more rapid. Fifty-five per cent. of the present population is of British origin, 28 of French, and the remaining 17 per cent. is chiefly from Continental Europe. There has been no immigration from France, but that from Great Britain is likely to increase more rapidly owing to restrictions on Continental immigration. Although for a long time Canada was length without breadth, settlement is now taking place 800 miles north of the frontier of the United States. This is due partly to scientific experiments in Canada making possible a type of wheat—the Marquis—which will ripen in the far North during the short Summer; partly to the amazing development of mineral wealth which is creating populous centres not far from Hudson Bay. In spite of the growth of the agricultural West, half the population of Canada now lives in cities and towns, whereas fifty years ago the proportion was only 18 per cent. Montreal and Toronto have increased six-fold and the next twenty years may find both of them reaching the million mark, while both Winnipeg and Vancouver, villages sixty years

ago, now have some two hundred thousand people.

The most pressing need of the new union was railways. The people, fewer than four million, who, a little more than ten years after 1867, built a railway which connected the Atlantic with the Pacific, made a bold venture, achieved in the United States when it had about ten times the population of Canada. Canada's foreign trade, which sixty years ago amounted to \$120,000,000, now reaches the annual colossal total of \$2,300,000,000, not an entirely wholesome sign, for it indicates a weak home market, due to the small growth of population. A rather ominous export is the vast quantity of paper and pulp from the exhausting asset of the forest. Food, on the other hand, reproduced annually, is a safe export. The enormous supplies of food grown in Canada are indicated by the capacity of a single Canadian flour mill to produce 14,000 barrels of flour a day.

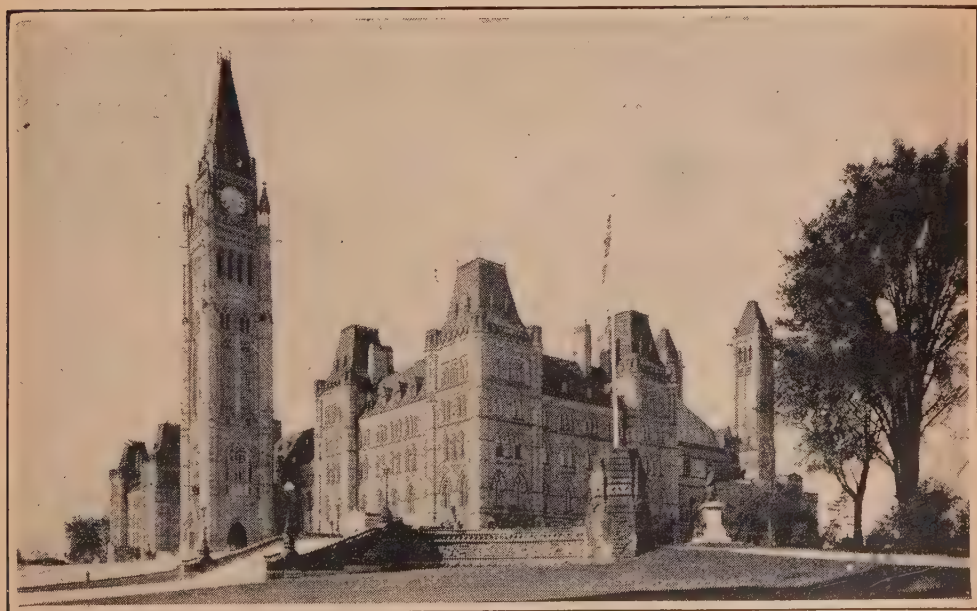
If we turn to things of the spirit, we find that education has kept pace with other developments. Nothing is more cheering than to see that in the four Western Provinces, which fifty years ago were al-

most uninhabited wilderness, universities now number their students by thousands, while the greatest buildings in the towns are almost invariably the schools. Since 1867 Canada has played some considerable part in scientific discovery. The telephone is due to a Canadian, Graham Bell. The scientific laboratories of Canada are well equipped and many hundred experts are engaged in the researches from which has come, among other things, the beneficent discovery of insulin to ease the sufferings of so many from the dread malady of diabetes.

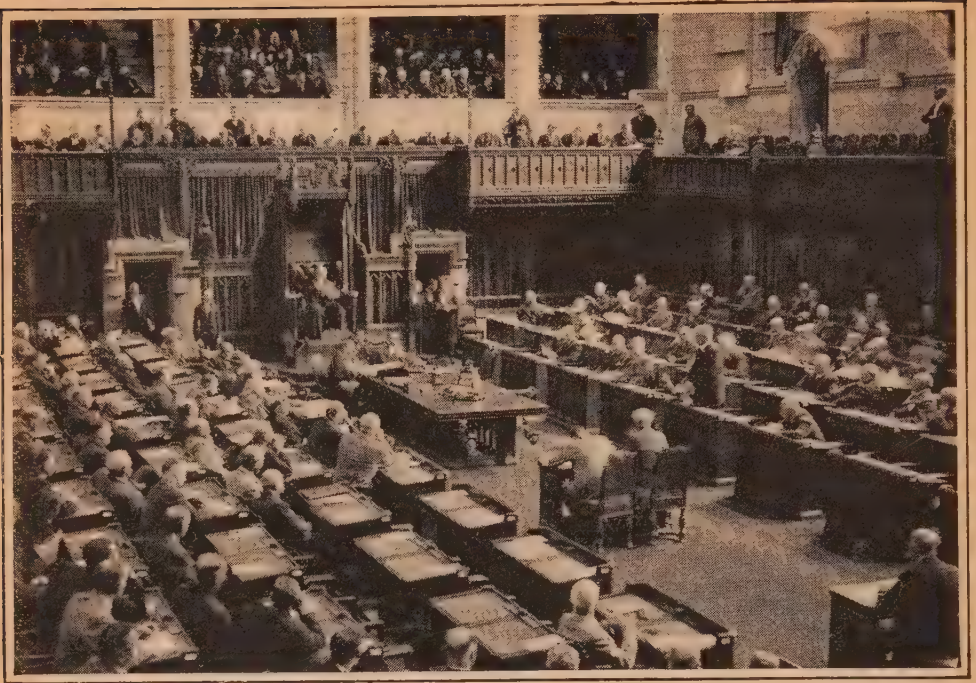
The path of Canada in respect of literature is difficult. Two other English-speaking communities, Great Britain and the United States, pour their literary products into Canada, and this ready-made supply tends to check natural growth in the country. An added handicap is that Canada's best authors are apt to turn to the wider markets in the United States and thus to lose their identity as Canadians. This tends to weaken a national literary tradition, while the fact that nearly one-third of the people of Canada speak and read French in daily life reduces the demand for literature in English. There is, however, marked improvement. Canada has its own school of poetry haunted by contact with the chill North, by the far-spreading forest and its

mysterious gloom, and by the timeless origin of the native races and their legends and customs. Canadian pictorial art has felt the same influences. The most striking school of painting yet developed is under the spell of the snow of Winter with its blue shadows of the lonely pine or cedar tree, stark on the rocks over a remote lake which is flashing in the sunlight or gloomy under lowering clouds.

This nation, sixty years old, has in it the elements of greatness. In contrast with the stormy history of its Southern neighbor its annals, since it became British in 1763, knew little of armed conflict until it threw its youthful energies into the Great War. That brought widespread domestic tragedy, in death, in debt per head of population greater than that of the United States, and in the silent privations of economic loss. But it brought its compensations—a deep self-confidence, a more enlightened outlook on world affairs, and a resolve to rank among the free nations of the earth. The outcome we may see today in the formal agreement, accepted by the whole British Empire, that none among its self-governing peoples is to rank as superior or inferior to any of the others and that Canada is by right and in fact as completely a nation among the nations as is Great Britain herself. Already this has



The Houses of Parliament, Ottawa, with Victory Tower at left of photograph. It is here that the Senate and House of Commons of the Dominion perform their legislative functions



The Canadian House of Commons in session

brought direct diplomatic contact, with all its necessary machinery, between Canada and the United States, something which will, as need arises, extend to other nations. A sign of disintegration among the peoples of the British Commonwealth, some would think, yet the result is proving and will continue to prove the exact opposite. Nations, like men, when fully grown up review more gravely their varied responsibilities than do immature children under the protection of a parent. In the whole British Empire, now the British Commonwealth of Nations, the thought of separation is rarely, almost never, found. The craving is wide-

spread in each part for the fullness of life of political manhood, but with this is linked the sense of a real British brotherhood.

The sixty years of federal Canada have, in truth, made Canada more consciously British in type and aspiration. Tradition linked with freedom has brought this result and the British Commonwealth stands today as the last marvel of political experiment achieved by no clash of arms. It is painful to remember that a similar result might have united the British colonies and the Mother Country 150 years ago, had wisdom reigned in the seat of power.



Some Abuses in American Medical Practice

By T. SWANN HARDING

CHEMIST AND AUTHOR

A VERY modest familiarity with the facts will readily convince an investigator that American medical practice has changed rapidly since 1850 and that since 1900 the pace of this change can be described accurately only by the word vivacious. Unfortunately, viewed from the standpoint of the 75 per cent. of our population which faces the economic problem of independence upon insufficient incomes, the change has so far been for worse rather than for better. Fortunately, however, the facts strongly imply that we live in an unpleasant transition stage and that the evolution of medical practice is moving surely, if somewhat slowly, toward the goal of proper medical care amply provided for and accessible to every member of society.

In general this evolution is marked by a strong trend toward greater complexity. This arises naturally from the enormous increase in biological knowledge and is evidenced at once by increased specialization on the part of physicians. Two consequences follow from this increasing specialization. One is a rising cost of adequate medical treatment involving, as it must, all the new facilities made available by modern research. The other is the fact that medical education and physicians in active practice can no longer keep up with the confusing and sometimes superfluous scientific papers flooding from the press. This results in reduced practical efficiency on the part of recent graduates and a strong tendency toward empiricism on the part of the flurried practitioner who is often, in his bewilderment, reduced almost to the pseudo-scientific procedure of the quack or cultist.

Meantime the 75 per cent. suffer for proper medical attention. For it is an actual fact that while 5 per cent. of our population, the rich, get the best skill of competent physicians and well-equipped laboratories, and 20 per cent., the poor, very often get the same skill and service gratuitously through organized institutional practice, the 75 per cent., economically in between these two classes, is quite generally treated by practitioners of limited skill, slight special knowledge and equipped with meager tech-

nical appliances. This condition drew passing reference from the President of the American Medical Association in his address to that body at the Washington meeting in 1927.

Of modern tendencies in medical practice, the most striking and most discussed, of course, is the tendency toward specialization. In an age of specialization, when scientists in the same field often cannot make themselves understood by each other, it seems natural for physicians to specialize. Humorists have some grounds for their gibes to the effect that a pain in the chest must be kept there very carefully, lest it slip injudiciously into the lower abdomen, there to require the ministrations of another specialist.

While an eye hospital was established in London in 1804, a hospital for diseases of the chest in 1814, an ear hospital in 1816 and a fever hospital was founded in New York in 1825 and a lying-in hospital in Boston in 1832, it was only during the latter part of the nineteenth century that instruments were perfected and methods advanced rapidly enough to permit really fruitful specialization. Today the undergraduate can get only the main facts about medicine in his course and not all of those. With this latter fact in mind, coupled with the added fact that a large number of medical students specialize without any preliminary general practice whatever, we can understand that pseudo-specialism and inefficient specialists are very prevalent and do much to discredit legitimate specialization.

Authentic specialization is undoubtedly advantageous. It increases productivity by subdividing tasks; it facilitates the acquisition of skill, accuracy and speed; it economizes material, equipment and energy and it accelerates invention and discovery. On the other hand, patients who seek specialists independently very often do so mistakenly; general practitioners frequently fail properly to cooperate with the specialist and, perhaps worst of all, the specialist tends to become a narrow piece worker who does not coordinate as he should with other specialists in his work.

Another interesting fact is this. During

recent years Holland, Italy, Hungary, Belgium, Czechoslovakia and Germany have all seriously discussed standards for the regulation of specialists. They have enforced certain rules and have made it necessary for a specialist to demonstrate some specific training and ability in his specialty before he can limit his practice. In the United States this is not so. A physician may still become a specialist here, if he be that unscrupulous kind of an individual, by the simple process of announcing that he is henceforth forevermore a specialist and limiting his practice. Naturally pseudo-specialism abounds under such arbitrary conditions.

Recently the graduates of fifty-two American medical colleges were studied statistically. It was found that of the classes of 1915 and 1920, respectively, 34 per cent. and 54 per cent. had actually restricted their practice to specialties without any previous general practice. This means that they had only their unspecialized undergraduate training to fortify them for specialism. It has been said by some wag that many graduates find it impossible to master modern therapy; they therefore surrender—and specialize! It is disconcerting to find that there is statistical evidence to support this witticism.

INCREASE OF SPECIALIZATION

Specialization increases rapidly. At present about 10.5 per cent. of our 147,000 physicians are specialists, but from 16 to 20 per cent. of recent graduates are specializing! In some larger cities specialists constitute 20 to 25 per cent. of the total practicing physicians. Yet the discussion of the standards for specialists in this country remains at the rudimentary stage of effecting such a compromise that these standards shall not be set too high and that the general practitioner shall not suffer economic hardship. This situation is very striking. Of course, very many of our specialists are well-trained experts, but the field is wide open as well to the pseudo-specialist. Few recent graduates in general practice will fail to admit that they are either already limiting their practice or else that they expect very soon to specialize. Some will candidly remark, "Specialization pays so much better."

In the medical school the specialist, not the general practitioner, holds sway. In fact the physician in active practice is usually excluded from the faculty of a Class A medical school. The anatomy of the heart must be taught by an anatomist; its physi-

ology by a physiologist, its histology by a histologist, physical diagnosis by a patientless professor and diseases of the chest by a consultant interested primarily in oddities and rarities, not in common maladies. Unity, coordination and the general practitioner have all been eliminated together.

How much more efficient is the treatment of disease today under rampant specialization, when the patient is awe-inspiringly divided up and charted out, a specialist to an organ? Does not the piece worker sometimes screw in bolt No. 606 to steady a part of the organic machinery and then carelessly heave a monkey-wrench in somewhere else to bring about total disaster? For the specialist tends to treat specific organs and specific diseases individually and to disregard the patient as a whole. Thus one disease often arises from the cure of another.

Indeed this pursuit of the varied medical sciences often so obscures the art of medical practice itself that a young doctor makes an unnecessary number of diagnostic errors and consequent mistakes in treatment. All the anatomy and physiology and pharmacology in the world will not help him so much as being brought face to face with clinical problems in order to learn sound, practical methods of treatment.

There is recorded the case-record of a patient who entered a modern "up-to-the-minute" hospital afflicted only with a fever of unknown origin. All the resources of medicine, chemistry, bacteriology, microscopy and X-ray were invoked. Every possible sort of examination was made and specialists appeared turn by turn to observe their specific therapeutic territories. But diagnosis proved impossible. Then an old general practitioner happened to see the patient by accident as he made his way to a patient of his own. He remarked casually, "I see that you have a typhoid patient in this ward"; and he was correct. It was typhoid. Something more is needed than specialization, elaborate appliances and complex methods. That something is coordination.

INCREASED COST OF MEDICAL SERVICE

We turn now to the economic aspects of this increasing complexity in medical attention. Health is purchaseable. But this very specialism at present puts the price beyond the limited reach of the average pocketbook. The increased cost of medical service, over and above that due to general rising costs of everything, is almost undoubtedly due to our much more elaborate

ideas of what constitutes adequate medical attention today.

Some, of course, do not hold this view. They blame excessive overhead. They say that such things as absurdly high office rents for unnecessary downtown locations, retinues of secretaries, nurses, door openers and technicians, too many golf-drome specialists seldom at their offices but often riding in expensive cars, superfluous equipment bought for its silent prestige value—cause fees to be high. Some lay the blame heavily upon the personal extravagance of physicians and the inefficient management of hospitals. Others say flatly that physicians are “on the make” and simply charge all the traffic will bear regardless of humanitarian considerations.

These are all positive factors which do operate to increase the cost of medical practice, but there are more fundamental and more general causes. For one thing, a medical education costs from \$6,000 to \$10,000. Proper minimum equipment for medical practice costs from \$2,000 to \$5,000. On the other hand, statistics do not bear out the statement that physicians, as a class, profit shamefully from the ill-health of humanity. The incomes of physicians, as a class, are not exorbitant. Fees may seem large, but it is actually true that physicians do not make as much year by year after graduation from college as do lawyers and business men who graduate from the same colleges in the same classes. When it is remembered that, irrationally enough, the physician's primary economic interest is bound up inseparably with the continued ill-health of his patients, the very limited mercenary character of American medicine is, indeed, to be marveled at, and the resistance of physicians to gross cupidity becomes really commendable. More primitive cultures, like the Chinese, have often done away with this paradox and pay the physician only during the good health of his patient; others still incline to visit sudden death upon him in case of his inefficacy.

TOTAL CHARGES FORMIDABLE

Then why is it that the middle classes really cannot afford thorough medical attention? It is because the total of the charges, each one just and fair in itself, becomes formidable. Consider the payments required by a moderately serious illness. Besides paying for medicine, laboratory tests and the use of the operating room, the following individuals must be paid: The general prac-

titioner, specialists as needed, the nurse (and her board) and the anesthetist. Even though each charge be fair (and it must be remembered that demonstrably inefficient hospital management unnecessarily increases some of these charges), the middle-class pocketbook is unequal to the task of meeting them, piled as they are upon the flat per diem rate of \$8 or so for hospitalization.

Thus the cost of a compound fracture has been known to mount to \$937. A hernia may come as high as \$723. A gall bladder operation often requires \$274. Even a spell of really good quality pneumonia can seldom be had lower than \$200. A wife taken ill of cancer on Jan. 1 of a certain year and dying Easter Day was found by her husband to have required \$6,000 worth of medical attention. Though his salary was \$10,000 annually, his savings were obliterated. Such things would not occur in a well-regulated society. The minimum charge for a maternity case handled by a general practitioner in New York City is \$150; much better service is offered for an added \$100. In case a specialist is required or desired, the charge mounts to from \$400 to \$500.

HEAVY BURDEN ON AVERAGE FAMILY

A few years ago 12,000 American families were surveyed in order to determine the average amount spent by them for medical care. The total per family was \$60.39, distributed as follows: Physician, surgeon and oculist, \$32.17; medicine, \$10.39; nurse, \$3.02; hospital, \$4.56; dentist, \$8.23; eyeglasses, \$1.75 and \$0.27 miscellaneous. It was also found that families with incomes of \$2,500 annually spent \$101 annually on medical care in the West, but \$154 annually in the East. In many cases individual families spent such amounts annually as follows: \$183; \$230; \$276; \$367; \$250; \$463; and even \$500 to \$700! It was quite apparent that the \$60 average was most inadequate and that a family really needed to spend more than the \$2,500 class in the East per year in order to have proper medical care.

In 1924 the average earnings of industrial workers were \$1,250 annually. Other classes fared similarly on the average. Yet carefully compiled statistics showed that at the very same time a scientific budget would require an average family to spend at least \$1,700 annually to live decently. This simply means that a man employed in industry, married and with two or three children, is economically unable to pay the average cost of medical attention, and that

the average given is really too low. If his earnings fall below the average, which they must half of the time, he can obviously afford to pay nothing whatever for medical care.

As Harry H. Moore says in his very excellent and much to be commended work, "American Medicine and the People's Health," only those families with two or more wage earners whose earnings are equivalent to or above the average, or those with one wage earner making very far above the average can afford today to pay for thorough medical care. Hence quacks and cultists flourish largely by reason of their grandiose promises to give the same service for much less money, although partly because they give solicitous attention to annoying minor symptoms and to little helpful comforts which the regular practitioner often thinks it dignified to ignore.

In spite of the importance of the economic side of the question it is unethical for orthodox medical journals to emphasize fees. Yet in a plainly acquisitive society the physician must live and his associations must occasionally exercise some of the functions of a professional guild. Thus the Medical Society of the District of Columbia boldly fixed tentative fees somewhat as follows: From \$2 for an office consultation or telephone call to \$300 for an elaborate consultation; from \$3 for a general practitioner's house visit to \$25 for a specialist's; from \$2 to \$25 for a smallpox vaccination; from \$100 to \$5,000 for a major operation, and from \$10 to \$500 for a specialist's consultation.

LACK OF FIXED FEES—FEE-SPLITTING

Much leeway is apparent. No fixed, standard charges exist. Patients are left to wonder what they will have to pay at the end of an illness. Physicians seek diligently to achieve financial independence by tempering the fee to the shorn pocketbook of the poor and unethically gouging the rich. In collections they follow their own whims, some being almost brusquely mercenary, others paying almost no attention to finances and living precariously. Patients meanwhile neglect medical attention as long as possible, pay if they can or fall back on free clinics when they have to. All is chaotic and disorderly.

Imbedded in this confusion we find the evil called fee-splitting, the growing tendency of the general practitioner to get a "commission" on the patients he brings the surgeon for operative procedure. This unethical custom is widespread, as an occa-

sional physician will admit in public now and then, but it is almost totally ignored by orthodox medical journals. Twenty to twenty-five years ago fee-splitting was all but unknown. Yet today the general practitioner repeatedly selects the surgeon who gives the largest "split," and takes his patient there sometimes for an operation not radically needed.

The existence of fee-splitting really indicates that the physician does not normally make an excessive income, for he views the custom as a necessary evil. It is unethical, but it is also really unethical to make a rich man pay because he is rich for medical attention later given some poor man who cannot pay at all. Yet all tentatively suggested fee systems have this unsound idea countenanced by them. Is there no remedy?

PRIVATE MEDICINE CHAOTIC

Private medicine is chaotic and disorganized. There is a general shortage of personnel and of equipment, and what we have is distributed disadvantageously. Experts say that hospital facilities for the provision of medical service of the following categories are adequate only to the extent of the figures given: Surgical, 72 per cent.; medical, 69 per cent.; maternity, 63 per cent.; chronic and convalescent, 44 per cent.; tuberculosis, 37 per cent.; incipient nervous disorders, 32 per cent., and contagious diseases, 26 per cent.

Then medical colleges are not even replacing physicians retired and deceased. Statisticians figure that if population and graduate physicians increase as at present we shall have but one physician per 1,000 of population in 1935, per 1,150 in 1945 and per 1,200 in 1955 as against about one physician per 900 population now. There is even no established method by which a stranger may be sure of securing a competent general practitioner or a particular kind of specialist, an almost unbelievable oversight.

Various agencies strive, in more or less uncoordinated manner, to interest the public in preventive medicine and to solve the economic problem of providing ample medical service to all. Industrialists, schools, Government, private commercial clinics, free public clinics, health centres, health insurance, medical associations all seek to do what they can. But statistics amply demonstrate that thorough medical treatment just now remains beyond the income of most people. There must be social or State control of medicine, it would seem, to solve

this problem. Health insurance should be extended to enable all to benefit from additional clinics and hospitals established for people of moderate means. Preventive medicine must be extended to the utmost possible limit, both in public health work and in private practice, and community surveys must be undertaken to coordinate all agencies making for the people's health.

In the clinic itself the general practitioner and the specialist might be coordinated as follows: A patient would go first to a general practitioner; next would come a consulting diagnostician who would be assisted by laboratory workers, X-ray men and the indicated surgeons and specialists. The findings of these men would be recorded by a compiling secretary, summarized and integrated by the diagnostician, and from this complete report a therapeutic planner would outline treatment. This therapy would be executed by the general practitioner and his cooperating specialists. In this manner the special knowledge of the specialist would be utilized at high efficiency because coordination and the patient's organism as a whole would not be lost sight of. The fee for such therapy must be within reach of all.

MORE PRACTICE, LESS THEORY NEEDED

But this is Utopia. At present we remain in the transition period. The immense personal knowledge of the old general practitioner, his urbane wisdom, his keen intuition, his broad, humane understanding and his lively interest in the individual patient—this is of the past. Instead we are subjected to uncoordinated specialists or to the rather impersonal ministrations of practitioners who have, according to very eminent physicians, lost the real art of practicing medicine to gain only a superficial smattering of several extraneous sciences.

In fact medical education is so far from perfect that a noted authority has suggested its complete reversal! Turn the medical aspirant loose in the clinic for his first two years in order to interest him in patients and in diseases before herding him into the laboratory and the lecture room. Today too much theory spoils him before he meets the patient. High marks in pharmacology avail little. He will never use half the prescriptions he painstakingly learns. He can look them up, anyway. In a few years his physiological notebooks will be filled with forgotten theories and discarded hypotheses. Give him fewer facts and more of the investigative turn of mind. Let him merely begin a process of education in the school and let

him carry that process forward thereafter by means of a proper grounding in technique.

Difficult as it may be to admit the fact, Europe is far ahead of the United States in medical education. American medical colleges are so weak in clinical facilities that it will be thirty or forty years before we can catch up with Europe, where clinics in all sorts of specialties abound for students. Here also able students are held back, under rigid, paternal control in a rigorous four-year course, to the requirements of dull students. In Europe the able student is permitted to learn vastly more than the dull student if he takes advantage of his opportunities.

FAULTS OF MEDICAL EDUCATION

Some specific faults of present-day medical education will now be listed. Since these deficiencies are exclusively drawn from the complaints of physicians themselves, they may safely be regarded as an indication that much is wrong here. Various physicians commenting critically on medical education say, then, that

Too many things are taught without reference to future use.

Too little emphasis is placed upon history taking and physical diagnosis.

There is too much futile clinical work in the amphitheatre which affords only a view of the operating surgeon's back and of the backs of his aids.

Insufficient attention is given to nutrition and diet.

Too much attention is focused upon remedies of dubious value.

Not enough attention is given to little comforts studied and utilized by quacks.

Too little instruction is given in minor ailments and in business methods.

Schedules are entirely too overcrowded for the good of the student.

Teachers of sciences fail to convey an intelligent understanding of their subjects.

There is too much clinical work from the standpoint of the specialist and the rare disease, and too little from that of ordinary practice and the commoner maladies.

The divided responsibility and the impersonal attitude toward the patient practiced in the hospital do not fit the physician for individual responsibility or teach him the emotional and psychological factors of importance when in close personal relationship with a patient as in general practice.

Though it is no longer possible for a medical student to learn everything, it would seem desirable for him to know at least the facts about the training and career of William J. Mayo, whose example might be inspiring. Mayo graduated from medical school at 21. Every teacher he had was an active practitioner and every

student in his class was taught to practice medicine practically. High school, three years of college and one year in a hospital ought, with emphasis upon minor ailments (which constitute more than 90 per cent. of the cases reaching the practitioner) and upon practical methods, to produce very rapidly a class of practitioners vastly needed by society just at present.

Lastly, more emphasis simply must be placed upon the psychic, neurological, economic and mental anxiety factors which the coldly impersonal specialists and practitioners incline to ignore. The entire context of a patient's life should be considered in treating him. He must be regarded as a human being, not as a case of mitral stenosis or pleurisy. Various distressing emotional disturbances must be analyzed for complete understanding, attention to nervous and even vocational factors are very often much more important than drug therapy or super-scientific clinical examinations.

To summarize: We have observed that medical education is at present inadequate and must be very considerably improved.

There must always be good general practitioners and competent diagnosticians in abundance, as well as certified, really expert specialists. Diagnosticians, specialists and laboratory workers must so coordinate that a patient gets his specific organs treated by experts, without sacrifice of the more general viewpoint which regards his organism as a unit composed of mutually dependent parts, and does not forget his status as a human being living in a particular environment. This service must be made accessible to all individuals, a task not too formidable when hygiene and preventive medicine have come fully into their own as organized agencies functioning efficiently everywhere. Finally, capital must be invested in health, perhaps by taxation, in order to provide hospitals and equipment for physicians to work with. Such service is just as fundamentally important as sidewalks, street lighting, pure water supply or police protection to any truly civilized society, and the small initial investment is bound to pay untold dividends from the tremendous economic gain in national health.



The Emancipation of the American Drama

By MONTROSE J. MOSES

AUTHOR OF NUMEROUS WORKS ON THE THEATRE AND DRAMA

WE have gone through many long years of preparing for the American drama, and it is only just now that we feel it is beginning to exist. Though our theatre history covers a period embracing two centuries, we have a very small body of dramatic literature which adequately represents our sincere yearning to see ourselves depicted forcefully on the stage. We have hailed individual dramas only to find in the years to follow that, although their intentions were commendable, they fell short of that intangible substance we call the American spirit.

Though we have pleaded arduously for an American drama, we have not satisfactorily determined to ourselves what we mean by the term. If we understand by it a drama which faithfully reflects the American scene, there are but faint intimations of such in the past, even if we have labeled groups of dramas as Yankee Plays, Indian Plays, or Social and Historical Plays. We are able to extract from the dejected scripts faint glimmers of a very poverty-stricken realistic treatment of native character, a very faint-hearted dealing with social problems, a very stereotyped reflection of our historical and political life. In fact, it seems, on the patient reading of these plays of the past, that the early American dramatist, however strong his ambition to reflect the American scene, was hedged in by reticences, was handicapped by accepted models which the theatre manager tenaciously held to, was himself disinclined to defy the theatre convention of his day. It was only rarely that, in the plays of those past generations, one could detect the independent attitude toward the individual and human liberty which was representative of our early American democracy. In 1849, when Mrs. Anna C. Mowatt presented her play *Armand*; or, *The Child of the People* to the London public, the licenser deleted the subtitle and substituted *The Peer and the People*, fearing that this American dramatist at least was attempting to sow anti-monarchical seed in the British heart. When Edwin

Forrest produced Robert T. Conrad's *Jack Cade* in 1841, the papers hailed its hero as a fit character for a democratic country. But only in such faint manifestations of the national spirit was our drama spiritually a native one.

There must be some significant explanation for the absence of such characteristics as we have here emphasized. We have a long list of plays written before 1870, but written in the face of a discouraging antagonism which was not conducive to original creativeness. First, there was an ingrained prejudice against the theatre, which forms a dark chapter in the history of the American theatre—a prejudice against the vagabond player, against the playhouse as taking the minds of sober people away from what were considered the more serious demands of the moment. Only the grand manner of the early actor in grand plays was permissible, no matter how hard the critics might plead for a drama more in accord with the times. Then there was an absence of copyright, which gave the American theatre an opportunity of securing—through the channels of a literary scout abroad—plays from the French and German which could be purchased in bulk, as John Howard Payne used to buy them for the old New York Park Theatre. And all the while Payne himself was being disregarded by the American manager in favor of the foreign product. How many times, in the contemporaneous papers, was a cry raised that a protective tariff was needed to protect the home drama industry! Plowshares were more important than dramatists! Finally, it was evident that the chief managers of the past were steeped in the English tradition, and were themselves loyal to all drama that was not American. Wallack, so it was noised about, once flew a Union Jack on the front lawn of his Summer home. Palmer, when he was handed *Shenandoah* by Bronson Howard, deplored the American theme, and asked the indignant playwright if he could not change the scene to Crimea. Such atmosphere was not conducive to the best results, was not inviting to the man of letters who might



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JESSE LYNCH WILLIAMS

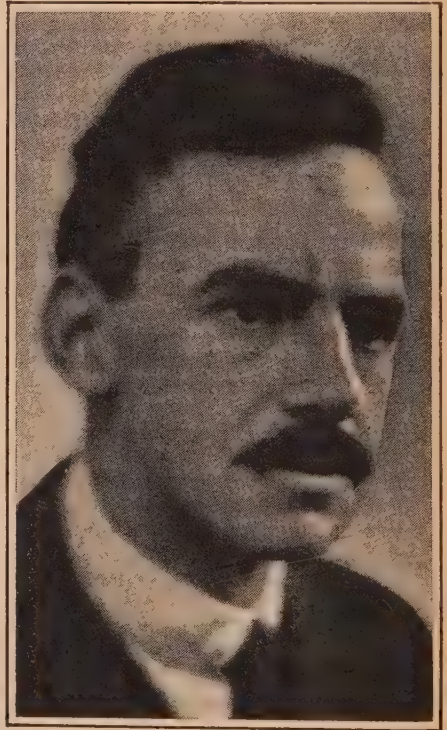
Author of *Why Marry*, which was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for the best American play in 1917. All the other playwrights whose portraits illustrate this article are winners of that prize for the plays mentioned (with the year of the award) under their names

have wanted to contribute to the theatre of his day.

But the actors, with some glimmer of native pride about them, felt that the American drama should be encouraged, and so they offered prizes. This was not done purely for patriotic reasons, but the stipulation was that the play accepted should fit the actor, have one absorbing rôle for him. Thus Wallack and Hackett and Forrest called into service the American dramatist. These plays were written with no passionate desire to reflect the American scene; in fact, the vital features of American life were left severely alone. They were imitative; they were not even carefully created to reflect truth of sentiment or verity of character. They were largely bombast. The American critics of the time realized this and uttered protest after protest. The actor was given balderdash to utter, and to the credit of the actor, he uttered it well.

We note, therefore, an early American drama lacking in every quality to make it self-perpetuating. Its Yankee plays were crude scenarios raised to certain heights by

acting that by all accounts must have been superlatively creative. Its historical figures were waxen, yet evidently necessary, since we find the confession of an old-time manager that no stock company could possibly be successful unless one actor at least bore resemblance to Washington. Its backwoods dramas shrieked with a spread-eagleism that was distressing, the playwright being solely intent on illustrating how simple and endearing was the American hero in contrast to the sophisticated villain reared in European manners and morals. From the days of Royall Tyler's *The Contrast* (our first American comedy), our society dramas smacked of the English drawing-room, and, when the proverbial farmer from up-State proclaimed his uprightness in language that was downright, our native belles and beaux blushed for him. Even in such outward marks of native identification as dialect, we were careless and tone-deaf. The Yankee brogue of *Lot Sap Sago* was a far cry from the later Mary E. Wilkins and the New England realists; the pidgin-patois of the negro in Mrs. Mowatt's *Fashion* and Poe's *Gold Bug*



EUGENE O'NEILL

Author of *Beyond the Horizon* (1920) and *Anna Christie* (1922)

had none of the colorful values of a later Uncle Remus. As for the local scene, do we not hear Augustin Daly asseverating most emphatically that the glory of the American drama is that its theme is universal? To him George Henry Boker was no less American for writing *Francesca da Rimini* instead of dealing with a Kentucky mountain feud.

Into the period dating from 1870 there swept all the handicaps that have just been listed. To these were now added further those mental reticences which marked the Victorian era. We select Bronson Howard as the first name to be reckoned with in the immediate modern discussion, because he took a stand against the Anglo-American manager; insisting that he be recognized and advertised as an American playwright, for on no other condition would he cater to the American theatre. In one respect he succeeded; he was so hailed. But in every other respect, he was representative of all theatrical conventions of his day. These were hidebound, and to depart from them meant ruination. Discussing his *Young Mrs. Winthrop*, Howard confessed he found that the only way in which he could have a man fall in love with a married woman was to make the offending male a Frenchman. That was the justification and the excuse, not only for legitimate drama of the home-made variety, but for any entertainment. During the run of the wicked *Black Crook*, which, to use Walter Prichard Eaton's phrase, introduced "legs" in grandfather's day, the ample display of nether limbs was regarded as allowable merely because the chorus and ballet were composed of French girls! From this it can be calculated that Howard's stand was original, even if his plays were not astoundingly so.

But in our lighter forms of amusement there came something native. The importance of our negro minstrelsy has not yet been adequately measured. Had it maintained its integrity, enforced always its initial intention to reproduce the negro amid his traditions, his humor, his melodic life, it could have gradually added to itself realistic details which might have become imperishable. But the black face of Brudner Bones emitted Irish, Cockney and German songs, and the crossing of sources gave a hybrid entertainment. Minstrelsy died of its own falseness to itself. In the same way, and because of its extreme contemporaneity, the American drama lost another form of expression—the art which raged in the '80s in the person and extravaganzas of Edward Harrigan. His was the Mul-



ZONA GALE

Author of *Miss Lulu Bett* (1921)

ligan era, the period in New York history when the squatter sovereignty of Tinpan Alley, the goats of Harlem and the bosses of the Twelfth Ward reigned supreme and streets were pledged to the barbecues of Hibernian delegations. To all of this now forgotten life, Harrigan brought the minutest care of one of our early theatre realists. When the time comes for a proper summation of the value of realism (it seems now to be in disrepute by the theatre reformer) Harrigan's New York and Herne's Down East coast will take their proper places with the realism of Howells's day.

The theatre of the '80s was dominated by Harrigan; he set the streets whistling with his songs; his satire was poured good-humoredly upon types no other playwrights seem to have equaled. There was no literary value to his scripts. But his was the same creative acting which brought the early Yankee plays to renown; his was the deep humor of metropolitan life which only Mr. Dooley later sensed. The unfortunate thing is that the plays which crowded houses and brought men in regiments year in and year out, passed with the passing of the social organizations that were coincident with political bossism. The Charles Hoyt farces, which shared the loyalty of the eighties with Harrigan, were not so local; they took up national interests like



OWEN DAVIS
Author of *Icebound* (1923)

prohibition, woman's rights, the sporting craze, and commented on the reformer of the day; but they were loosely constructed, a catch-all for the assembling of much wit, and this flimsiness was their undoing. Then followed the inimitable Weber and Fields, who were truly Aristophanic in their fun, and from them, though it was impossible to assemble in a typed manuscript the infinite humors of their fun, there was evolved a mixture of musical show, vaudeville and satirical commentary, whose like we have not seen before or since (except possibly in Italy and Russia).

The American dramatist entered upon another era of handicaps. Even during the Frohman régime he was not as welcome as his British cousin; and when he was accepted he was tolerated only on terms that the box-office dictated. Whereas in the past his drama had mostly been imitative of foreign models, now it was obvious, and imitative of box-office successes. Drama moved in whorls of fashion: now it was the crook play, again it was the play of big capital, still again the college play. The theatre was a venture based on private investment: the drama must be a hand-maiden to the dollar. The period of Clyde Fitch and Augustus Thomas was not an important one for the American drama so

much as for the American theatre. They represented the best of our output under the beneficent guidance of Charles Frohman; they gave us something akin to literature.

Charles Frohman represented the good side of the theatre of his day. He might be in the theatrical trust which choked and ruled the country, but he gave the country much honest entertainment. He endeared himself to the "stars" on whom his entire artistic faith was pinned. "I do believe," he once said, "that throughout the United States a play really requires a star artist, man or woman—woman for choice." Frohman exclaimed, "Let there be," and that was enough. He dabbled in the literary drama, and the renaissance playwright of England was his friend. But his conception of the theatre—which was the conception of the American manager everywhere—was the manufactured product. And that did not encourage the best writing in our theatre. Hubert Henry Davies, one of his playwrights from London, used to declare that he could just as well have been an American playwright, since he began writing plays in this country. But the managers would not recognize him. Edward Knoblock also had a hard time of it until he went abroad. The old virus was still in our theatrical system. The foreign market was our greatest hope.

Fortunately by way of the foreign market, we got whatever literary distinctiveness there was in the European dramatist. Ibsen seeped through special matinees into our understanding; and when the managers saw that there was a field for him, they too followed suit. Shaw and Galsworthy were heralded in special performances long before they became an asset to the box-office. But I can recall the American dramatist repudiating the strength of the foreign drama, saying it was incompatible with the American spirit, whereas, if the truth must be told, it was inimical to the "happy ending," to the point of view adopted to bolster up the fagged brain of our audiences. Not only that, but we were definitely pledged—probably this was a phase of our religious prejudice against a theatre of any sort—to an avoidance of all topics in our plays that faced issues squarely. The "strong" dramas of the '90s that were hailed as showing the influence of Ibsen were far from interpretative of anything but our suburban blindness. Our dramatists brought to the theatre a swift newspaper sense; they utilized the newspaper topic, and made clever plays in a clever way; with melodramatic

situation, with soothing romance. They did not create definite characters, but types. The business man was the same in all plays: the "dub," the college boy, the ingenué, the irate father, the strong woman, the unscrupulous director, the heavy villain, the emotional heroines—none of them differed from each other in any vital respect.

Then came the present century, and with it the spirit of revolt in the theatre. The commercial theatre had antagonized the public, and this public began to organize. Through its organization it began to read plays. This is the chief credit that belongs to the Drama League; it helped to create a reading public, and by this created demand; publishers were enheartened to issue plays and to seek books descriptive of the theatre everywhere. There flowered into being at relatively the same time various centres of amateur interest in the drama, and amateur realization that because of commercial organization communities throughout the country were not being brought in contact with the plays they ought to see and that there was no trying-out ground for those excellent examples of the newest drama which Europe was hailing as the strength of the modern theatre. This was the spirit which called forth the Little Theatres; it was the spirit which encouraged several art experiments, the most gigantic being the New Theatre in New York, where, backed by the cold enthusiasm of a group of millionaires, Winthrop Ames tried to encourage the American dramatist, but had to produce almost entirely a foreign repertory. The experiment failed, as did one of a similar sort in Chicago; but they served as portents of discontent. The conventional managers did not take the time, even if they had had the inclination, to weigh the significance of this alertness on the part of a public whose interest was growing in the country. They said: Mrs. Fiske flourished in our régime and she is intellectual. But did they stop to reckon how many heartaches they had given her? They said: We know all about new scenery, for the last word on that score comes from David Belasco. They averred, with pride, that it was not an insurgent group that gave William Vaughn Moody his chance with *The Great Divide*, or Langdon Mitchell with his *The New York Idea*, or Eugene Walter with *The Easiest Way*. Would the new movement give any more courage to new playwrights than they had given?

Slowly the tide of revolution advanced. Something had happened which was going to change the entire spirit of the theatre.

And it seems evident that the spirit of our American theatre has been the thing which has crushed the spirit of our American dramatist from earliest times. The change came swiftly over a road that was inimical. In our ears there clanged the warning of past struggles with civic authorities—Olga Nethersole's fight with the police over Clyde Fitch's version of *Sappho*, Arnold Daly's experiences with a morbid public over the first performance of Bernard Shaw's *Mrs. Warren's Profession*, Heinrich Conried's championing of the seven veils of *Salomé*, and beyond, like the Cheshire cat, the bland, sanctimonious countenance of Anthony Comstock and his sincere but immoral fetish.

The struggle of the modern American theatre with the law has not, until recently been very violent; it has been sporadic, carried on partly by the Society for the Suppression of Vice, and defeated by the haste with which reasons for legal action were formulated. In other words no tenable reasons have been forthcoming. Our theatre has become freer in the discussion of sex within the past decade, because of an entire change of front in our domestic life; one can hardly expect the theatre to lag behind the general topic of conversation at the breakfast table. Where once there was



SIDNEY HOWARD
Author of *They Knew What They Wanted*
(1924)



HATCHER HUGHES
Author of *Hell-bent fer Heaven* (1925)

scandalized protest because an actor desired to give Brieux's *Damaged Goods*, scarcely any theme today can raise the question as to its appropriateness, if appropriately given. But our theatre, not being a serious one for many a year, began to trade upon serious discussion of human relationships. Our bedroom farces went the limit of stage realism, and the dramatists who exploited such pandering food, in which vulgarity and noise were the identifying characteristics, went undisciplined. I shall always believe that it is to the discredit of our American dramatists, organized into a society, that they did not then protest against any of their members thus misinterpreting the freedom of the stage. They knew that if such promiscuous handling of serious themes—cleverly humorous—continued, there would come a day when the law would descend indiscriminately upon the good and the bad, the worthy and the unworthy; and we would be threatened with censorship. The furor against O'Neill's *Desire Under the Elms* was a test case in many directions; it brought a trial by citizens who were wise in freeing it of salacious intent, just as they were wise in freeing *The Captive*. Nevertheless, though I had faith in the latter play, I believe that the legal decision against it was right according to the viewpoint of the law. But I deprecate the ne-

cessity for the law's having to rule on points of art, and I do not believe it would ever have so to rule if other vulgar plays, produced in licensed theatres, were not at the time drawing public attention.

The actors' strike annihilated any organization among the managers. So, when the time came for necessary regulation of theatre ethics, the managers crowded together undisciplined and unheaded; to their shame it must be recorded that they allowed a condition to creep upon the theatre which they could have controlled and stopped. The consequence is, that the theatre, as it is ruled, is getting everything that it deserves—arrests, convictions, laws to enable the padlocking of theatres and the revoking of licenses, all because excessive, deadly dull vulgarity has been allowed by the managers themselves to increase, not only on the stage, but in pictures outside the theatres. This agitation comes at a period when our American drama can ill afford to subject itself to any form of censorship. I am against all forms of censorship which will hamper the dramatist in a sincere effort to depict life and discuss life's problems, but I see no reason why the law cannot reach out and control the manager who goes the limit merely for the profit that is in it.

After it was too late, there was much talk in the theatre of "cleaning up." There was much discussion of that freedom which was so little valued by the playwright and the manager and even the actor that no protest was heard from within until the police made the gesture. There is a wave of municipal restraint abroad at the present time. Plays and books are being suppressed. As far as it affects the theatre, it finds a ready welcome among the enemies of the playhouse. But it is also due to the fact that, since in many directions the theatre is organized on a system of trading, there must be some ethics of the trade. If the managers will not formulate these ethics, then the law must step in. As far as the removal of *The Captive* is concerned, I take it as a distinct victory of the moving pictures rather than as a defeat of the theatre. Our very moral screen has curbed the theatre and shown itself a *disciplined child* of censorship!

A series of events took place in 1911 that altered the entire face of the American theatre. The Irish Players came to America, and awakened many people, as the Théâtre Antoine had made the English and the Germans awaken, to the fact that an amateur group, with a theatre religion,

might make itself heard in a national and an international way. Not only that, but such a group, inspired with the proper fervor, might create its own playwrights. And still not only that, but they might show, even through the limitation of their power, how necessity may perfect a literary form—the one-act play. They reached America just at the right moment—when the amateur movement was most self-conscious and sensitive to impression. And through them, with Yeats and Lady Gregory and Synge as their emblems, the Irish Players turned the thoughts of our amateurs to extensive play-writing in the one-act form.

There followed the swift arrival of men like Robert Edmond Jones and Lee Simonson from the art studios abroad. Craig and Stanislavsky and Bakst and Reinhardt were their idols. America was a land of dull grays; its theatre was sunless, cluttered with the curios of an old curiosity shop, gathered in the name of a wrong realism. They bore back in the chalice of their enthusiasm the new gospel of the new artist, the new playwright, the new stage director, the new theatre. It was the gospel of content and mood. By it all plays must be tested. And they proceeded to splash life with symphonic color. What they were trying to do was greatly abetted by the arrival of the Russian Ballet. The

picture was not mere scene but body as well, the action was not only situation but continuous movement in a rapid succession of inevitable pictures. The little playhouses received these scene boys of the Western world, and they developed with the growth of these playhouses in New York—chiefly the Washington Square Players, the Neighborhood Playhouse and the Provincetown Players. For many years the theatre had been a dead force in the actual creative life of the workers in the theatre. Now there was a new consciousness of directing, of acting and of visualizing the play. And a strange phenomenon was apparent. These vital groups, founded upon the significant principle of help and encouragement, were creating groups of playwrights, and giving opportunity to those already existent. Dunsany came to the fore in America during this time, and Eugene O'Neill and Susan Glaspell rose within the ranks of Provincetown.

In 1890 it would have sounded absurd for any one to predict that an American dramatist could ever develop independently of Broadway. Yet that is so in the case of Eugene O'Neill. In 1900 it would have been even more absurd to prophesy that the very commercial managers who had scouted experimentalism would avow that there were many things commercially sound about the new art theatres. Yet we have had a confession from some that the methods of the Theatre Guild are just the methods they intend using in the days to come. So, in this year of grace, we are at the crucial turning point. The American drama is still wanting its great example, but yearly there are added to the roster men who have more definitely in mind the powerful instrument of the spoken word. Severe as our strictures may be against the native playwrighting through the years that have passed, we may say that, despite its crudity, it has been alive. But that its content has been weak, there is no denying, however patriotic we may be. We really know within our heart of hearts that this is so, because we cling to Eugene O'Neill as only a people can cling to a rare hope. We speak proudly of Sidney Howard because there is an earnestness and a sense of the theatre in him that need our encouragement. We have heard the artist say: There are no American dramas that, should we revive them, afford us much opportunity for depth of mood or symbol of intention. And so in desperation they turn to the European drama, where the literary artist works in the theatre with avidity and interest.

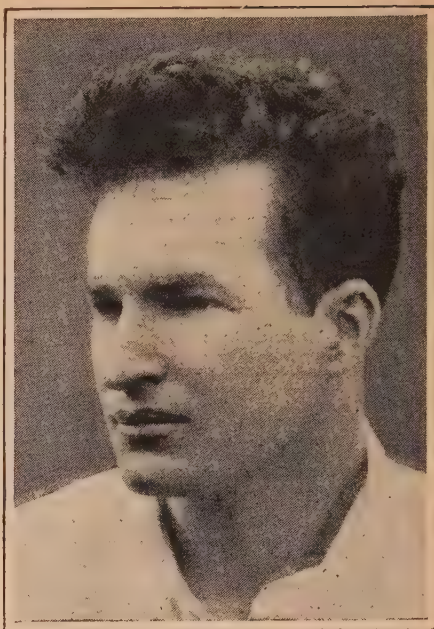


GEORGE KELLY

Author of *Craig's Wife* (1926)

The experimental stagecraft, which has been one of the features of our recent revolution in the theatre, broke from all the proscenium conventions of the past. The dramatists went about declaring everything established as being wrong. They caught a fever from the scene designers and emulated the experimental dramatists abroad. Fashions in plays: the loose form of many scenes, as against realistic closeness. There came the expressionistic, constructivist, mechanistic type of play, keeping pace with the bony structure of our towering buildings, emotionally motivated in the spirit of jazz, psychologically tuned to the Freudian philosophy. Away with the old theatre of "set" life, unfolded on one plane; have plays enacted on many planes, where the théâtre does not stop the continuous flow of life in several places simultaneously. Life is a matter of many currents flowing at once upon a given situation. O'Neill started the experiment. Elmer Rice, John Howard Lawson and Jo Em Basche went beyond him. At the present moment our dramatists are giving us a kaleidoscopic view of American life. This life is seen by confused minds, however live they be, and the loose structure which characterizes the new play writing hides weakness in thinking. O'Neill's *The Great God Brown* suffered, destroyed in its fundamental poignancy by the multiplicity of its scenes. The same thing happened with Paul Green's *In Abraham's Bosom* and Philip Barry's *White Wings*, a gentle satire of the nifty nineties. Denying themselves discipline in the old theatre sense, these dramatists refused to discover discipline in the new sense. The theatre is most satisfactory whenever a given pattern is reticently balanced. Among our playwrights, the one whose plays seem most dominated by relentless personal analysis is George Kelly. There is a deep understanding in him of the characters he chooses for his main interest—Aubrey Piper, Mrs. Craig. They are seen by him from every angle; they are in themselves either the product of a civilization in which they live, or else the fruit of their own character. Sidney Howard shows the same healthful tendency.

The consuming fault with most of our plays, since dialogue has been at all literary, is that we have been satisfied with cleverness, with flashes of comment buried beneath a mass of detail, with healthy humor attached to no consuming idea, where strong language becomes symbolical of strong emotion, just as in the days of Klein a strong man chewed violently on the butt end of a cigar. There is no denying



PAUL GREEN

Author of *In Abraham's Bosom* (1927)

the cleverness of Kaufman and Connelly's *To the Ladies!* or the worthwhileness of the character work in their *Dulcy*. *The Butter and Egg Man* carries on the tradition of George Ade and George M. Cohan, and this is not a bad tradition but one of which the theatre can proudly boast. Yet it seems to me that maybe the old-time manager, A. M. Palmer, was partly right when he said, commenting on the American drama of his day, that our playwrights were weak in plot inventiveness.

We end as we began. The American Drama is still under the shadow of European example as it was one hundred years ago, but under different auspices. Much of our poverty was then due to theatre reasons. And many of these reasons are now entirely removed. Our universities have awakened to the theatre; our civic communities show pride in their civic theatre. Playwriting is taught. And plays are read, so that the drama of the world is concentrated beneath the light of the library table. This is the soil we have never had before for the cultivation of a native drama. Some strong impulse, some strong conviction or belief, some vivid memory, some big problem, may so stir that soil at any moment that the land may be abloom with its own creative flowering.

Transocean Fliers Making History

I—THE BYRD TRANSATLANTIC FLIGHT

THE "crash" (deliberate, and not a fall) of the America, giant Fokker "air liner" captained by Commander Richard E. Byrd, at Ver-sur-Mer, a little fishing village on the north coast of France, at 2:30 o'clock in the morning of July 1, ended one of the most spectacular transocean flights accomplished in recent aviation history. But though Commander Byrd and his crew did not reach their goal—Paris—by air, and though their ship was virtually wrecked when it was forced to descend upon the water for lack of fuel after five anguished hours of flying through storm and impenetrable darkness, with defective compasses, the transocean flight of a giant plane weighing over 17,000 pounds and carrying four human beings was actually accomplished. Furthermore, the scientific flying data which it was Commander Byrd's main purpose to acquire was actually obtained, recorded and salvaged from the wreckage. Hence, though the conclusion of the flight was attended by disaster, the flight itself achieved its object and was so considered and hailed by the backers and expert aviation opinion in Europe and America.

For many months Commander Byrd had been awaiting a favorable opportunity to make the flight which has now passed into the chronicles of aviation history. Soon after his successful flight with the aviator Floyd Bennett over the North Pole in May, 1926, an exploit which won him many honors, he found in Rodman Wanamaker, head of one of New York City's largest department stores, the financial backer for one of the young aviator's most cherished dreams—a flight across the Atlantic Ocean mainly for scientific purposes. For Commander Byrd may truthfully be called a scientist of the air, and his inventions—the most important of which is the bubble sextant, which gives the aviator an artificial horizon, enabling him to calculate his position while in flight (Byrd used this instrument in his North Pole flight)—have been potent factors in the development of aerial navigation in recent years.

Byrd's life and career to the time he entered upon this project may be described briefly as follows: He comes from a dis-

tinguished Virginia family. Heroism and love of adventure are in his blood. One of his ancestors, William Byrd, fought Indians and the wilderness after he went to Virginia in 1683 and founded the historic settlement of Richmond. Commander Byrd was born in Winchester, Va., the son of Richard Evelyn Byrd, a prominent Virginia attorney, and Elinor Bolling Flood Byrd. One of his brothers is Governor Harry F. Byrd of Virginia. The other, Captain Thomas B. Byrd, distinguished himself in the World War. Byrd himself has had an adventurous career. At the age of 12 he made a trip alone around the world. After an exciting and dangerous experience in the Philippine Islands, he took a British tramp steamer which enabled him to visit Japan, Ceylon, India, Port Said and other places. All these travels aroused in him an interest in the sea and in navigation, explaining why, on his return home, he entered a military academy and subsequently gained admission to the Naval Academy at Annapolis, from which, in due course, he was graduated as a junior officer.

Byrd was retired from active service in 1916 and placed on the navy retired list for disability, due to an injury to one of his feet; but he continued to perform the service of an officer on active duty. In 1922, by a special act of Congress, he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Commander. [He has since been promoted to the rank of Commander.] In 1917 he had organized the Navy Department's commission on training camps. In 1918 he was sent to Canada to command the United States naval forces in Canadian waters. Meanwhile he had learned to fly, and after the war he devoted all his time and energy to aviation. He was connected with the navigation of the navy NC planes' flight to the Azores in 1919. In 1923 he was flight leader of MacMillan's expedition to Greenland. In 1926 he was the first man to fly an airplane over the North Pole. Several years ago he had asked the Navy Department's permission to undertake a transatlantic flight; but the department ultimately denied his request.

Mr. Wanamaker, who backed Byrd's transatlantic flight, spared no trouble or expense to make it successful. This benef-

icent New York merchant, who had lived long in France and had acquired great sympathy and liking for the French people, had for a number of years cherished an ambition to sponsor a successful transatlantic flight, and in 1914, before the World War, had already spent more than \$200,000 for a first plane, also called the America, built by the noted aviator and airplane manufacturer, Glenn Curtiss, and at that time the biggest seaplane yet constructed. But after many discouraging experiments, the plane was found unequal to its tasks and plans were being made to replace it with another, when the World War came, which delayed the fulfillment of Mr. Wanamaker's project for several years.

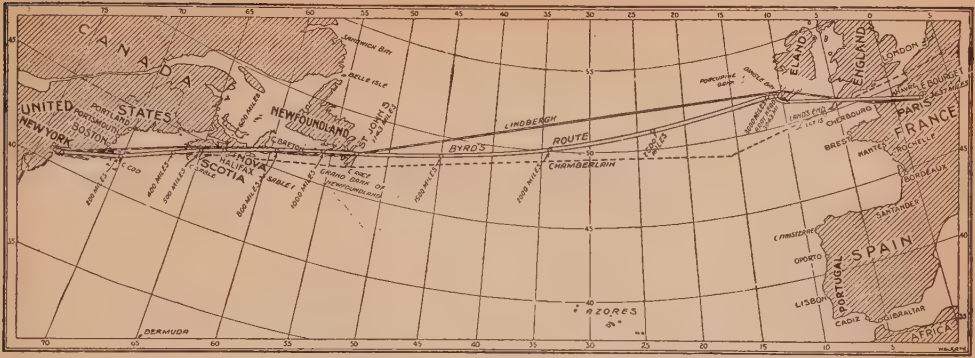
When Mr. Wanamaker met Richard Evelyn Byrd it was a case of flint meeting fire. Lieutenant Commander Byrd, hero of the North Pole flight and ardently desirous of making a transatlantic flight, was just the man for whom this lay fosterer of aviation had long been seeking. The two reached an agreement soon after Byrd's North Pole plane had been exhibited in Mr. Wanamaker's store, and the latter took steps at once

to entrust the project to his organizing company, the America Trans-Oceanic Company, which had been under the Presidency of Mr. Wanamaker since 1914, to have a plane specially constructed for the contemplated flight, and to secure a good flying field as a point of departure. Roosevelt Field on Long Island was purchased, and arrangements were made with Anthony H. G. Fokker, the eminent Dutch airplane designer, whose planes were used by the Germans with signal success in the World War and who designed the plane in which Byrd made his North Pole flight, to design and build a new plane with greater power and radius, specially constructed for the end in view. The work of construction began quietly and no information was given out to the public. Nothing that could contribute to its success was overlooked; the expense of the plane alone, out of a total cost for the whole expedition of \$250,000, was reported to be between \$70,000 and \$80,000.

The America made its first test flight on April 16. It was piloted by its designer, Anthony H. G. Fokker. The other passen-



The crew of the America, which flew from New York to France (from left to right): Acosta, Byrd, Noville and Balchen



Map showing Byrd's route across the Atlantic

gers were Commander Byrd, Floyd Bennett and Lieutenant George O. Noville, all of whom were scheduled to be Commander Byrd's companions on the transatlantic flight. The flight itself was successful, but in making a landing the huge plane, for some reason still unexplained, overturned. Mr. Fokker was himself uninjured, but Commander Byrd sustained a broken wrist, Floyd Bennett a dislocated shoulder and a broken leg, and Noville suffered a serious shock. Everything was done subsequently to repair the damage. All recovered from the accident except Bennett, who was to have been the pilot of the big Fokker plane under Byrd's command, but who was still in the hospital when the America took off for Europe.

Formal public announcement of the complete plans to undertake the flight in the Spring of 1927 (May) was made on April 9. This plan, however, did not materialize as expected, one reason being the accident to the plane during the first test flight, including the time for repairs and the recovery of the injured aviators, and another the successful completion of the transatlantic flight by Captain Lindbergh (May 20-21), and Commander Byrd's strong disinclination to attempt his own flight until after Lindbergh's return home. A third reason was bad weather, which repeatedly delayed the flight after it had been finally decided upon in June. The chafing aviators were forced to arm their souls with patience until favorable weather conditions were reported. Though several decisions to leave were reported, we know from Commander Byrd's own statements, recently published, that he never definitely gave the word to go until the actual take-off in the morning of June 29. Meanwhile the personnel of the crew had been completed; in addition

to Commander Byrd, there were: Bert Acosta, flight pilot (holder, with Clarence Chamberlin, of the world's record for endurance flying); Lieutenant George Noville, flight engineer and radio operator (army wartime pilot and former head of the United States Air Mail); and Bernt Balchen, a Norwegian aviator, mechanical assistant and relief man (associated with Roald Amundsen in preparation for the Norge flight over the North Pole).

The *America*, according to details given out by The Associated Press and other sources, was constructed and finally equipped as follows: Wright motors, air-cooled, three, one in nose of fuselage, the other two suspended on each side of the wing; wing span, 71 feet; length over all, 48 feet; height, 12½ feet; wing spread, 735 square feet; weight, empty, 5,640 pounds; weight, fully loaded and equipped, 17,621 pounds; gasoline capacity, 1,200 gallons, one huge tank, suspended from the wing beam instead of being built in the fuselage, holding 800 gallons. The plane had a dump valve attached to the main tanks, making possible, in case of a forced landing, the emptying of a heavy cargo of gasoline within a few minutes. Two rubber fabric boats of Byrd's own devising were carried, with compressed air generators. The plane was fitted out with a radio set, capable of receiving within a radius of 2,000 miles. It also carried maps, signal devices, including kites and flare bombs, hand pumps, fishing tackle and copious emergency supplies of food and water in a compartment at the rear, as the safest point (the result justified the calculation) of the plane in the event of a descent upon the water. (For these and other details, see the diagram accompanying this article.) To make the machine easily distinguishable in the air the name *America* was painted

in large red, white and blue letters; also a large star with the monogram ATC in the centre, these initials standing for "America Trans-Oceanic Company," the Wanamaker owning company.

As regards instruments, Commander Byrd carried in his navigation cockpit all those that Captain Lindbergh had, including the earth inductor compass; and also two magnetic compasses, all of which afterward proved defective. It was also reported that Commander Byrd took his own invention, the bubble sextant, upon the trip as well as several other instruments Lindbergh lacked, showing the performance of the plane, air speed, altitude, drift and other factors requiring observation and study. The importance of all these instruments was emphasized by the young Commander's avowed purpose to fly at different altitudes to study varying air and wind conditions, in order (in his own words) "to learn to some extent the quickest and the safest air course to Europe," and to aid the cause of transoceanic flying by discovering what aviators must do to climb over fog to obtain observations, how to gauge the height of fog, and so forth.

Thus equipped and prepared, the America "hopped off" from Roosevelt Field on June 29 at 5:25 o'clock in the morning. The start was made in a light rain, after reports of clearing weather along the plane's projected course had been received from James H. Kimball, meteorological expert of the local Weather Bureau, though with a warning that the aviators would probably encounter patches of fog, rain and conflicting winds. The rope holding the tail skid was cut: the huge plane leaped down the incline at the head of the runway where it had been held for several days, the three motors roared thunderously, the plane sped along the runway and then rose from the ground. Soon it was roaring over Curtiss

Field, then it turned northeast and headed toward Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and—beyond the Atlantic Ocean—France, its ultimate goal.

Its course to Newfoundland was reported by radio. The America met unfavorable weather for at least the latter part of the first 1,400 miles of its trip, as shown by a radio message from Byrd via Chatham, Mass. (June 30, 2:30 A. M., second day), stating that: "We have seen neither land nor water since 4 P. M. yesterday on account of dense fog and low clouds covering an enormous area." A report received at 9:20 P. M. (June 29, first day) gave the "air-liner's" position as 200 miles east of St. John's. Early on the second day the America was flying over the Atlantic.

Accounts subsequently given out by Byrd, Acosta and Noville after the crash off the north coast of France show that the four aviators encountered on their way across the ocean extremely bad flying weather, rain, "fog," "freezing dense fog," "strenuous trip," sufficiently indicating the fliers' difficulties. For 19 hours they were flying "blind," that is, without sight of land, water or a clear sky. Lieutenant Noville put it thus: "It was just a ghostly and unbelievable sort of thing—flying on, on, and up there cutting the fog, with always more fog or more rain ahead. If the Atlantic can be crossed under such conditions, it can be crossed under any conditions." Commander Byrd in his published articles confirmed this impression and strengthened it by vivid descriptions of the "terrible scenes" formed by "fog valleys, dark, ominous depths." They flew high, endeavoring to keep over the fog clouds as much as possible. At one time an incorrect computation by Noville of the rate of consumption of the gasoline fuel made Byrd fear the necessity of a forced landing in the Atlantic, but he kept this foreboding to himself,

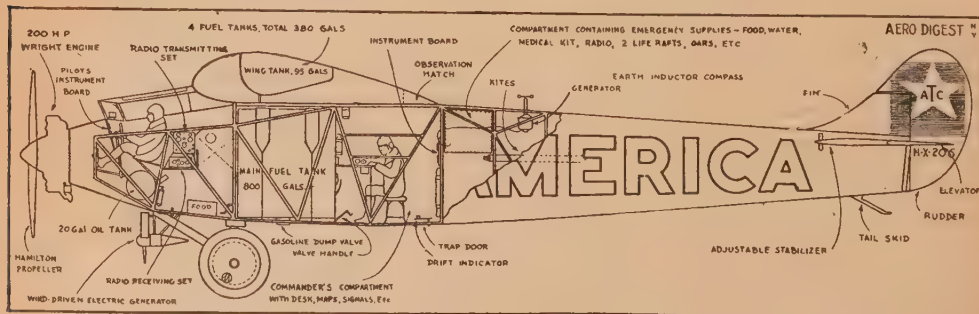
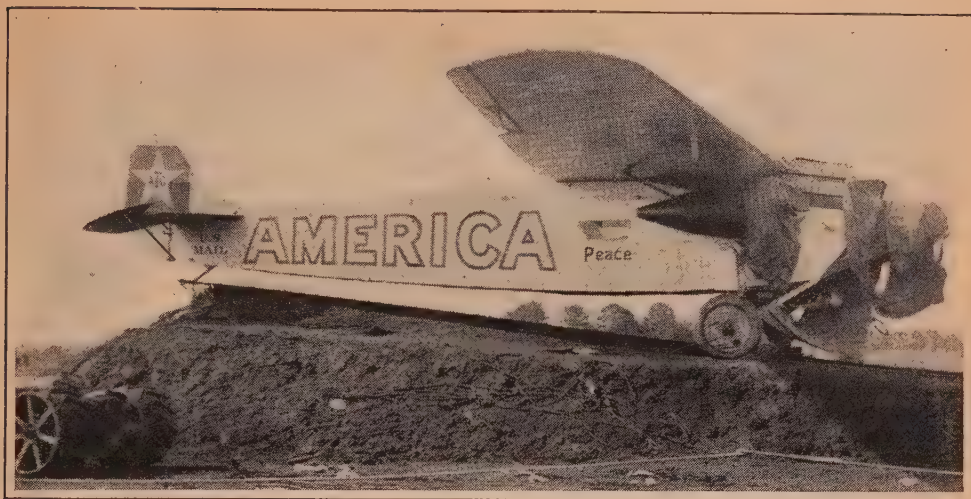


Diagram of the America, the airplane in which Commander Byrd crossed the Atlantic



The America on the runway at Roosevelt Field, Long Island, before the start of the transatlantic flight

and later Noville found he had made a miscalculation.

Through this welter of fog and rain the America flew and finally reached the other side. But here a dramatic experience that might have ended in a tragedy awaited them. Commander Byrd, in his special article for *The New York Times*, tells the main details.

During the last six hours of their flight their earth inductor compass failed them and they found themselves hopelessly lost in the fog, swinging in a half circle out of their course. Already during the day they had been alarmed by finding that they had drifted further south than they had expected, and they were obliged to get their position by using the radio, enabling them to alter their course, and instead of steering for Ireland, as they had planned, to shape their course for Finisterre. When they sighted Finisterre they got into radio communication "from all directions. * * * It seemed as if the whole of Europe were trying to get into touch with us." (Byrd's words.) The course was then set for Paris. Then their worst troubles began, initiating an experience which Commander Byrd later declared was worse than anything he had ever encountered during his North Pole flight. It began to get dark and rainy, so "thick" that they could not "check up" on the lighted cities below them. Bright lights ahead deceived Byrd into thinking that they had at last reached Paris. On reaching this point, however, they were all

astonished to find the lights to be those of some amusement resort on the water. Commander Byrd then realized that their compasses were out of order and had taken them in a circle instead of in a straight line. They thus found themselves in the perilous predicament of flying in the pitch-dark, stormy night dependent on compasses that had "gone crazy" (Byrd's own words); later, however, he stated that in his opinion the compasses, which at the end righted themselves, were only temporarily thrown out by "some magnetic material that had been moved in the ship." For five anguishing hours they flew, hopelessly lost, approaching Paris at least twice, as they surmised, then Le Bourget, where vast throngs awaited them; unable to see anything, completely at a loss and with their gas failing. Lieutenant Balchen, who proved to be a tower of Norwegian strength, did all the piloting throughout this crisis; Noville was exhausted; they were all stone-deaf as the result of the incessant roaring of the three motors throughout almost forty-two hours in the air, and virtually blind.

Commander Byrd, realizing their desperate situation, especially the factor of the fuel failing, finally decided to head back toward the amusement resort by the sea which they had passed long before. On coming out of the fog, they found this spot, but after circling about they could find no landing place. The flashes of a revolving light were too swift to be of any visual service. "The gas was getting low, and we

decided to land," Byrd reported later. These were simple words, but Noville, in speaking of this momentous decision to "crash," praises to the highest Byrd's decision and Byrd's qualities of a "great commander." It was, he declares, a decision that saved their lives. If they had "crashed" on land, a land unknown and invisible in the pitch darkness from above, it might have meant death for all.

PLANE PARTLY WRECKED

Commander Byrd explained his reasons to his companions in the perilous enterprise, and they were accepted. And so the America crashed—on the water—at half-past two in the morning of July 1. The "crash" was all that might have been expected. The plane was wrecked in part; the landing gear stripped off by the impact, the plane plunging twice below the surface. Commander Byrd was hurled through a window. He dove and after coming to the surface he swam to the front of the plane, released Balchen, struggling, tangled in the controls, dove again under the plane and found Acosta and Noville on the other side. Noville got out the rubber raft, despite his exhaustion, and inflated it. All four got on the raft and reached the shore. Noville twice used it to return to the plane to bring away mail and other valuables. So ended the momentous "crash" of the America on the coast of France. The aviators' lives had been saved, though their plane was wrecked. Subsequent events have been variously reported, but Byrd's own account, published in *The New York Times* on July 3, tells of how they carried the plane "up the beach" and then heading for the nearest light, of reaching the little village and vainly ringing bells; of finally going to the lighthouse and finding the keeper and his wife awake. When these good people found that the wet and bedraggled men were Commander Byrd and his men there was great excitement. Soon the little Norman village was in an uproar. The Deputy Mayor, hearing of the arrival of the much awaited aviators, went to meet them. The plane was pulled up close to the shore by means of ropes. The instruments were taken from it, the three motors were dismounted and the French officials requested to have the motors immediately cleaned to prevent any ill effects from the salt water. Everything possible was done for them by the people of Ver-sur-Mer, and Commander Byrd later expressed his deepest gratitude for the hospitality and service lavished upon them. So finally, utterly exhausted, Com-

mander Byrd and his comrades proceeded to their hosts' houses and went to bed. So ended the epic of the flight of the America to France.

In the morning when Commander Byrd, after only two or three hours' sleep, awakened and dressed, he found some hundred newspaper men awaiting him to secure interviews. He also met Herbert Adams Gibbons, Mr. Wanamaker's representative, who told him of the all-night vigil at the flying field of Le Bourget. And lastly Commander Byrd received the felicitations of Premier Poincaré and Minister of War Painlevé. Then he went down to look at his plane, which French officers and half a hundred men were striving to get into a better position. He found the plane worse damaged than he had supposed. But there was still hope of repairing it and bringing it on to Paris, and eventually home. (The three motors and all the scientific instruments, as well as all charts and scientific data were saved.)

The complete log of the America from start to finish of the flight was as follows:

FIRST DAY

- 5:24 A. M.—Start of flight from Roosevelt Field.
- 6:00 A. M.—"Time 6 A. M. Everything going fine. Noville."
- 6:34 A. M.—Liners Homeric and Carinthia pick up automatic call of America, then over Providence, R. I.
- 7:22 A. M.—"Passed Cape Cod, two miles west of Cape Cod Light, at 7:22 A. M. Misty and rainy. All well. Byrd."
- 7:26 A. M.—Steamer Naiden, ten miles northeast of Cape Cod, reports through Radio Corporation of America that plane has passed over her.
- 7:41 A. M.—"Weather clearing. Half way between Cape Cod and Yarmouth, out of sight of land. Extra cans of gasoline causing trouble with compasses. Hope they will not when they can be thrown overboard. Byrd."
- 8:04 A. M.—Steamer Stavangerfjord sends message telling of sighting America seventy miles northeast of Cape Cod.
- 9:00 A. M.—"Getting chilly. Flying at altitude of over one-half mile. All my shipmates doing their jobs like men. Byrd."
- 10:00 A. M.—"Please ask stations to stand by. I am going to pump gas." (Unsigned.)
- 1:30 P. M.—"Message for good old Floyd Bennett. Tell him we miss him like the dickens. Thinking of him. Byrd."
- 1:31—"Wire our congratulations to Maitland and his crew. We are keeping a sharp lookout for Nungesser. Wind does not help us at surface. Good at half-mile mark. Think we are getting some scientific data. Byrd."
- 1:34 P. M.—"Greetings to R. Daniel, Jack La Grose, National Geographic Society, Washington; Governor Byrd, Richmond, Va.; Edsel Ford, Raymond Fosdick, 1 Broadway; John D. Rockefeller, Isaiah Bowman, Geographic Society, New York City. Tell Crover Whalen we have just read his letter and appreciate it. Byrd."

- [Grover Whalen, Vice President of the "A. T. C.," gave a letter to Commander Byrd to be opened after the takeoff.]
- 3:00 P. M.**—New York Times correspondent in wireless station at North Sydney, Nova Scotia, hears automatic signals from America.
- 4:00 P. M.**—Liner *Mauretania* sends this message: "America's signals strong to us now. Unable to get any response. Is she taking our track?"
- 4:10 P. M.**—*Mauretania* reports America's signals still being heard, but that their strength is declining. The *Mauretania* was then about 350 miles south by east of Cape Race.
- 5:12 P. M.**—"Crew in good condition. Head winds are bothering us. Cape Race is the last station that we will raise on this coast. Regards to hangar crew. Byrd."
- 6:00 P. M.**—Steamer *Nerissa* sights America off Cape St. Mary, Newfoundland, and takes wireless messages for transmission to New York.
- 6:30 P. M.**—"Costigan, Radio Corporation of America—Working our set constantly. Hope messages are arriving. Getting plenty co-operation. Thanks for your help. Noville."
- 6:39 P. M.**—"Dense fog covers all Newfoundland. Getting above it. Have had bad adverse winds. Impossible to navigate. Can hardly see wing tips. Running into another one now. Byrd."
- 7:00 P. M.**—"No time to muss with code now. This radio is a hectic job. With regards. Noville."
- 9:20 P. M.**—America sighted 200 miles east of St. John's, Newfoundland, by steamer *Chalutier*.
- 10:30 P. M.**—Radio Corporation station at Chatham, Mass., reports receiving America's automatic signals so loud "it would knock your head off."
- 11:00 P. M.**—Liner *Adriatic* hears America's call signals.
- 11:30 P. M.**—Government radio station at Malin Head, Ireland, reports hearing signals from America.
- 12 Midnight**—Chatham Station of Radio Corporation reports America's signals still strong.

SECOND DAY

- 12:30 A. M.**—Chatham station hears America's signals at distance estimated at 1,400 miles.
- 2 A. M.**—Chatham station reports America's signals still being heard.
- 2:30 A. M.**—"We have seen neither land nor water since 4 P. M. yesterday on account of dense fog and low clouds covering an enormous area. Byrd."
- 2:30 A. M.**—Liner *Aurania* picks up same message and relays it by Valencia wireless station.
- 4:20 A. M.**—Liner *Berlin* hears America's radio signals; plane about fifty miles distant.
- 6:50 A. M.**—"We have seen neither land nor sea since 3 o'clock yesterday. Everything



Byrd (at the oars), Bennett and Noville on the Hudson River before their departure for France testing the rubber boat which they took as their principal life-saving device in the event of a forced landing at sea.

completely covered with fog. Whatever happens, take my hat off to these three great fellows with me. Byrd." (Via steamer Drottningholm.)

- 7:00 A. M.—"We are 10,000 feet in a freezing dense fog; position at 11 Greenwich mean time, 49:33 north, 18:18 west. Fine, thanks. You have helped us a lot. Byrd." (Via steamer Paris 600 miles west of Land's End.)
- 11:05 A. M.—"Grover Whalen: We hope to sight land at end of hour. Crew feeling fine after strenuous trip. Byrd." (Via steamer Tuscaloosa City.)
- 12:05 P. M.—Intercepted message to British warship Revenge gives America's position about 40 miles west of Trevose Head, Cornwall.
- 1:30 P. M.—The French Cable Company is advised from its station at Brest that Commander Byrd had been in communication with Le Bourget flying field through an English wireless station and that he expects to reach Paris at 5:30 o'clock (10:30 Paris time.)
- 2:40 P. M.—"To Ushant. We will fly over you in a few minutes. WTW. Will you repeat the position? WTW. (Ushant is an island near Brest, France.)
- 2:40 P. M.—"We are coming in tonight. Just passed over French border. Will any planes meet us outside Paris? Byrd." (Message picked up at Dublin, Ireland.)
- 2:45 P. M.—"To Rodman Wanamaker: Just crossed border line of France. Byrd." (Message received via Ushant radio station.)
- 2:55 P. M.—America crosses over Pointe du Raz de Seine, on French coast southwest of Brest.
- 3:30 P. M.—America passes over Brest.
- 3:50 P. M.—America passes over small Breton town southwest of Brest.
- 4:19 P. M.—Plane reported over St. Brieuc, a small port in Côtes du Nord, Department of France.
- 5:10 P. M.—"I am flying around Paris. Am to west of Paris. Don't know whether will land Paris or elsewhere. Give me my position. Byrd." (Received at Le Bourget.)
- 7:29 P. M.—Radio signals from America received at Le Bourget.
- 7:35 P. M.—Times correspondent reports Byrd over Le Bourget flying field, which is concealed by fog and rain.
- 7:44 P. M.—S O S signals received at Le Bourget airport.
- 7:55 P. M.—Wireless station at Viry Chatillon signals passage of the America, saying it is outside Paris and seems to be circling in search of Le Bourget field.
- 8:00 P. M.—America starts sending S O S signals. Believed that Byrd is unable to see the lights of Le Bourget flying field because of rain and fog.
- 8:14 P. M.—More S O S signals from America, one saying she is lost and has only three hours' supply of gasoline.
- 9:00 P. M.—America reported landed at Issy les Moulineaux flying field near Paris.
- 9:20 P. M.—Report of landing is denied.
- 10:00 P. M.—New S O S from America saying she was lost in the wind and rain.

THIRD DAY.

- 2:30 A. M.—Plane lands on sea off Ver-sur-Mer, near Caen. (A deliberate "crash," not a fall.)

After an official reception at Ver-sur-Mer on the afternoon of July 1 (they had arrived in the early morning hours of that day), an official party arrived in motor cars from Paris and took the aviators and their belongings to Caen. Commander Byrd bore personally the precious United States mail bag and the even more precious scientific records of his observations during the flight. In the evening the Prefect of Caen gave an official dinner in their honor, while clamorous crowds gathered outside in the rain, hoping that Commander Byrd would come forth and address them, which he ultimately did. They left Caen at 8:19 o'clock the next morning for Paris, vast throngs packing the station platforms all along the way, waving and cheering frenziedly. On arrival at the St. Lazare Station in Paris, though only invited guests and members of the official welcoming committee were allowed inside, a vast multitude numbering at least 10,000 was packed outside, waving and cheering, while thousands more awaited them outside their hotel.

One of the first to greet them was Charles A. Levine, who accompanied Clarence D. Chamberlin on his flight in the Columbia to Berlin. When, after a brief ceremony arranged by the official reception committee, they reached the open air the roar of thousands greeted them, and they had great difficulty, despite the efforts of the gendarmes, in reaching their waiting motor cars. Many of the episodes that occurred on their arrival make interesting reading, including the ovation given Commander Byrd when he arrived after his comrades and found himself standing alone on the balcony overlooking the Tuileries Garden, bowing appreciation of the tumultuous reception but very much annoyed because his companions were changing their clothes and were not with him. A few moments later, however, he had the satisfaction of seeing them arrive. Commander Byrd's words (translated into French as soon as uttered) to the crowd were brief but effective; he said in part:

I am glad to be in France. My reception has been overwhelming. * * * It has been stated that a trip of an airplane with three engines and four passengers is an advance in the science of aviation, as the machine is larger than the planes which have previously crossed the Atlantic. But the primary object of the trip was to land on the soil of France. It was meant to show the affection of America for France. * * *

There followed a luncheon given at the Interallied Club by Sheldon Whitehouse,

American Chargé d'Affaires, who read a message of congratulation from President Coolidge, Secretary of War Davis and Secretary of the Navy Wilbur to Commander Byrd and his companions in the presence of a brilliant assembly of French notables, including many distinguished aviation officials, and the whole staff of the American Embassy.

After being examined at the American Hospital to ascertain exactly what injuries they had sustained in their descent at Versur-Mer (the net result being that Acosta found he had a broken collarbone, Noville an injury to his leg, combined with cold and chill, and all three, Acosta, Noville and Commander Byrd, were pronounced to be suffering from nervous strain and shock; Balchen, although he complained that he was "tired," showed no ill effect whatever), the aviators hurried to Elysée Palace, where President Doumergue was awaiting them.

Byrd and his companions were presented to President Doumergue by Chargé d'Affaires Whitehouse. The French President warmly congratulated them "upon the fortitude with which you overcame almost insurmountable obstacles." Commander Byrd retold briefly the outstanding features of the flight, and then presented to the President a replica of the first American flag, made by a great grandniece of Betsy Ross—a token he had brought with him on the flight for this specific purpose.

RESULTS OF FLIGHT

Until Commander Byrd publishes the scientific data which he obtained and saved from the wreck, the full import of his contribution to transocean flying cannot be known. Some things, however, are definitely established. The keynote of the achievement may be found in a published message sent Commander Byrd by James H. Kimball, the meteorological expert whose weather predictions guided him on his way to Newfoundland, a message in the course of which he said (in paraphrase): "Forty-two hours in the air to study meteorological conditions in bad weather—what an opportunity!" The scientific value of Commander Byrd's exploit from this viewpoint can hardly be overstressed. Without disparagement to either Colonel Charles Lindbergh or to the fliers of the Columbia, it may be pointed out that none of these is a "scientific" aviator; that is, an expert in meteorology and in the art and science of aerial navigation. Commander Byrd is more than an aviator; he is a meteorologist and a trained expert in this field. He had

flown over the North Pole for scientific purposes. He had with him, moreover, for his transatlantic flight special instruments devised to study atmospheric conditions at many altitudes, the velocities of winds, the frequencies and densities of fogs along a given course, the possibilities of piloting a passenger-carrying plane weighing with its full load over 17,000 pounds through treacherous weather not anticipated—fog, rain, black cloud formations and baffling winds—across the Atlantic Ocean by the shortest route. He proved that this can be done if the motors keep going. Moreover, his giant plane was equipped with full radio equipment; neither the Spirit of St. Louis nor the Columbia was so equipped. Commander Byrd proved its value over and over again during his 4,000-mile flight in getting his bearings, when because of the obscuration of sun, moon or stars he could not take the usual observations. Radio helped him to discover the error in his course when he reached the other side and to head south for France. His problems in confronting and dominating adverse meteorological conditions throughout continuous bad weather were without parallel in the history of aerial navigation. Radio, valuable weather maps and his scientific knowledge brought him through. By flying at high altitudes and changing his altitude from time to time to get clear of the fog, while flying at a high rate of speed, he was able to collect and record scientific meteorological and flying data which must prove of the highest value as a contribution to the art and science of transocean flying. That this is a simple statement of fact and not a hypothesis, is proved by Commander Byrd's later articles, published in *The New York Times*, July 4-6, setting forth what he learned about the altitude locations of the most unfavorable and the most favorable winds, fogs, &c. And finally, it may be said, not so much as a contribution to aerial navigation as to the human factors involved, toward the end of his flight he proved it was possible to navigate a heavy plane carrying four passengers over an unknown country, in pitch darkness, amid rain and storm, for several hours and to descend deliberately in the safest way possible under the circumstances, before the fuel failed.

[Commander Byrd was credited by the figures compiled by the Geological Survey and published at Washington on July 1 with covering a distance of 3,477 miles, the air-line distance be-

tween Roosevelt Field, New York, and the village of Ver-sur-Mer, France. This does not take into consideration the miles covered in Byrd's deviation from his course after becoming lost in the fog while flying above France. Lindbergh was credited with 3,610 miles;

Chamberlin and Levine with 3,905 miles. Commander Byrd himself estimated the distance actually flown by him at 4,200 miles. His flying time was 41 hours 27 minutes, as against that of Lindbergh, 33 hours 30 minutes; Chamberlin and Levine, 46½ hours.]

II—THE FLIGHT TO HONOLULU

THE first non-stop flight across the Pacific Ocean from the American mainland to Hawaii and the longest ocean flight yet on record was successfully completed on June 29, 1927, by Lieutenants Lester J. Maitland and Albert F. Hegenberger of the United States Army. It is a flight that, because of the supposed dangers of the long water "jump" has only been attempted once before, by Commander John Rodgers, U. S. N., in 1925, and his plane, forced down after twenty-four hours in the air, was lost at sea for nine days. In the words of President Coolidge, the achievement "marks a further step in the art of flying, combining as it did the supreme skill of the pilot with the wonderful accuracy of the navigator, and furnishes a striking evidence of the efficiency of our air forces."

Army experts planned the flight principally as a test of recently developed navigation methods and instruments, in particular the new radio "beam" method of determining the course, which has been the subject of constant experiment ever since the war. An extremely difficult problem in navigation was presented, as a course of approximately 2,390 statute miles had to be flown, over open sea with no landmarks, the objective being a group of small islands with a broken land line only 317 miles in extent. Accordingly, if the plane had deviated from its course by only a comparatively slight amount, the fliers would have missed the islands entirely and gone astray in the great waste spaces of the Pacific. But owing to the skill of Lieutenant Hegenberger as a navigator they reached their goal with only a negligible amount of deviation from the charted course.

The plane chosen for this important test was a Fokker trimotor monoplane, with a wing spread of seventy-one feet, driven by air-cooled engines of 200 horsepower each—almost a duplicate of the plane in which Commander Byrd made his transatlantic flight. Lieutenant Maitland took off from the municipal airport at Oakland, Cal., on

June 28, at 7:09 A. M., and under his skillful handling the huge plane, estimated to weigh 13,500 pounds, rose in the air with surprising ease. Between that time and the landing at Wheeler Field, twenty-five miles from Honolulu, at 8:59 on the morning of June 29, the fliers sighted only one vessel, the steamer Sonoma, 750 miles off California. They talked by radio to the steamer President Cleveland about 400 miles further on, the message being overheard by the President Pierce; but cloudy weather prevented them from seeing each other.

The flight itself proved comparatively uneventful. Each motor in turn caused the fliers some anxiety at first, but finally worked smoothly. When more than half-way out, one of the motors suddenly became cooled, causing it to miss for a time, and the plane dropped nearly 6,000 feet before it picked up again; this was the nearest approach to an accident during the whole trip. Weather conditions were in general fairly favorable, though heavy cross winds and rain were encountered. The radio receiver went out of commission several times, so that the fliers were unable to steer their course continuously by the beam signals, but the latter proved so reliable when they were able to get them that the practicability of the method may be considered as demonstrated. When the beam was not functioning, the steering was done by dead reckoning, with the help of bearings picked up from the steamers Sonoma and President Cleveland.

The radio beam method of charting a course, which can be considered as having been successfully employed during this transpacific flight, was operated as follows: The two transmitting stations at San Francisco and Honolulu sent out a continuous stream of radio waves of a wave-length of 1,030 meters, which broadened into a band at the rate of one and one-half miles for every hundred from the source, so that at the midpoint of the course the maximum width of the beam was fifteen miles.

Lieutenant Hegenberger, the navigator, tuned in with his receiving set on this wave length and kept the plane headed in the course upon which the letter "T" in Morse code was heard at three-second intervals. If the course deviated to the north the letter "N" sounded and if to the south the letter "A." On reaching the midpoint, or fifteen-mile width of the course, the navigator changed from receiving the sig-

loops, the "goniometer" being a coupling device which obtains the proper current relationship on each loop, and thus allows the resultant field to be shifted at will. This system of transmission was devised by the Air Corps to eliminate the necessity of a specially equipped receiving set with a specially trained operator; the receiving plane need carry only a standard aircraft receiver. For the transpacific flight, how-



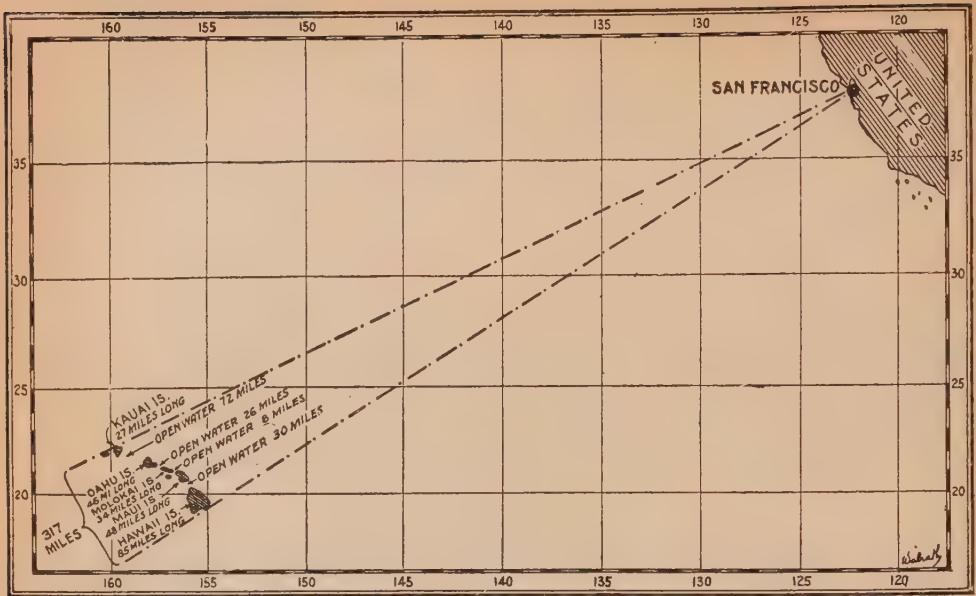
Official photo, U. S. Army Air Corps

Lieutenant Albert F. Hegenberger and Lieutenant Lester J. Maitland, who made the first non-stop flight from San Francisco across the Pacific Ocean to the Hawaiian Islands

nals from San Francisco to those of the Hawaiian station, whose beam converged at the same rate as that of the San Francisco station diverged, bringing the aviators straight to the landing field.

The two powerful transmitting stations at San Francisco and Honolulu are equipped with five kilowatt spark sets and the latest type of air-cooled vacuum tubes made by the Signal Corps aircraft radio laboratory at Dayton, Ohio. The antennae on the stations are in the form of two triangular loops, erected at right angles to each other, the loops being seventy-two feet high, with a base 300 feet long, and each station is rendered capable of transmitting signals along any desired compass bearing by means of what is termed a "radio goniometer," connected to the large outside

ever, two of the latest developments in receivers were installed—an eight-tube superheterodyne set and a new four-tube circuit, embodying the latest improvements in selectivity and radio frequency amplification. The plane also carried both an earth inductor compass and a master compass, which were originally intended to be used only to maintain a line flight and prevent unnecessary zigzagging across the beam course, but since the beam functioned only part of the time, they proved indispensable. According to the fliers, the width of the signal zone was much narrower than expected. As the Department of Commerce is at present engaged in constructing radio beam transmission stations, along the commercial airways of the United States, it is evident that this test was most important, and,



Map of the route from San Francisco to Honolulu

from the testimony of the fliers themselves, was successful in spite of faults in the apparatus.

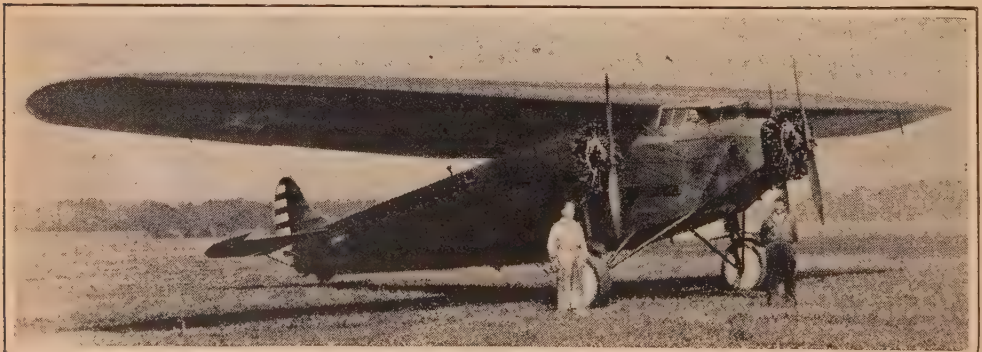
Assistant Secretary F. Trubee Davison, in charge of army aviation, summed up some of the achievements of the flight in a statement made soon after hearing of its successful completion as follows:

The successful flight from California to Hawaii opens up a new vista of communication between America and its overseas possessions. It demonstrates perfection of motors and planes and underscores the progress made in the development of the radio beam, the earth inductor compass and other instruments for aerial navigation.

This flight had been under consideration for a long time. Exhaustive tests and prepara-

tions were made over a period of many months. It was not undertaken to compete with civilian fliers, and neither Maitland nor Hegenberger will be eligible to receive any prize moneys or other awards. The thought behind the army's project was not to have an army plane be the first to cross the Pacific, but to gather data which would be of value in promoting air traffic between California and Hawaii.

Other experts, among them Admiral Colby M. Chester, Captain W. Bender and Major Gen. Mason Patrick, Chief of the Army Air Corps, stressed the fact that the flight proves the practicability of commercial air transportation between the United States and Hawaii and predicted rapid development of it in the near future.



The airplane in which Maitland and Hegenberger flew from San Francisco to Honolulu

America's Treatment of Disabled War Veterans

By EDWIN DEXTER

AN OFFICIAL OF THE UNITED STATES VETERANS' BUREAU*

GENEROSITY is a relative term. To estimate the attitude of America toward her war wounded we must consider two aspects of generosity, each in comparison with what other countries are doing. First, are we helping financially or otherwise a greater or smaller percentage of the disabled veterans than they are? Second, is our contribution to the welfare of each greater or less than that of other countries, taking into consideration the purchasing power of the dollar?

According to figures given by Professor Bogart in his study of direct and indirect costs of the war, published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the wounded and missing for the United States and its two principal allies in the World War were as follows:

Country.	Seriously Wounded.	Otherwise Wounded.	Prisoners or Missing.
United States..	43,000	148,000	4,912
Great Britain..	617,740	1,441,394	64,907
France	700,000	2,344,000	453,500

In the threefold classification given above we have the prisoners and the missing, but in the experience of wars roughly one-half of these are actually dead and need not be considered in our study. Of the remainder it might be safe to assume that one-half—or one-fourth of the whole number of missing or prisoners—will be returned wounded, either seriously or otherwise. If this be so the total number of wounded for each nation would be as follows:

	Total Number Wounded.
United States.....	192,228
Great Britain.....	2,075,361
France	3,157,375

Previous experience with the war wounded shows that a considerable proportion completely recover and suffer no permanent loss of ability. Professor Bogart states: "The very carefully compiled returns of the United States Army show that about 85 per cent. of the combat wounded are fully

restored physically and functionally and that approximately 5 per cent. are partly disabled but capable of self-support, the remaining 10 per cent. being seriously injured."

A more typical study of the question is found in the bulletin of the Copenhagen War Study Society and is based upon experience in Russian army hospitals. This states:

Normal ability restored on hospital discharge	44.5%
Ability reduced; restoration partial.....	52.0%
Total loss of working ability.....	3.1%
Died of wounds.....	4%

Since we are not considering the question of generosity to the beneficiaries of the dead, the last item may be disregarded.

From the above table it will be seen that 55.1 per cent. of the war wounded seem to be left to society with normal ability reduced as a result of wounds received in action. This would give us, based on the table of total wounded already given, the following number for each of the countries covered:

WAR WOUNDED WITH REDUCED ABILITY.

United States.....	105,917
Great Britain.....	1,143,523
France	1,739,712

These figures give us the approximate after-war load, as based upon wounds received in action. But no country restricts its generosity to this class, nor should it. Disease and accidents are just as truly hazards of war as are wounds received in action; and those suffering from them, if of service origin, are treated with the same generosity as are the heroes of battle.

Unfortunately, we lack for the European nations data covering discharge from military service by reason of sickness, but for the United States the Surgeon General's reports show that there were 178,699 men discharged from our forces because of accident or disease. This number, added to the 105,917 previously given as our seeming liability from war wounds, gives us 284,616. This, then, would seem to be the total number of men who, according to the records of the Adjutant General and the Surgeon General,

* With the exception of the fundamental data given, this article should not be considered an official statement of the United States Veterans' Bureau.

might be expected to become beneficiaries of the Veterans' Bureau either as recipients of disability allowances or as applicants for vocational or professional training to overcome some physical handicap. Any marked difference between the above number and the number of living beneficiaries of the bureau in the classes just mentioned would seem to indicate a generosity or lack of generosity, *numerically speaking*, of the American people toward the disabled veteran.

DISABILITY GRANTS BY THREE COUNTRIES

What are the facts in the case? Up to July 1, 1926, 832,172 survivors of the World War had filed applications for disability compensation with the Veterans' Bureau, of which number of applications 424,843 had been granted. The number of applications is nearly three times the number of eligibles as shown by the records of the Surgeon General, modified by the findings of the Copenhagen War Study Society, and the number of claims granted is nearly one and a half times, or precisely 149 per cent. of that number. This would seem to indicate that the veteran has been given the benefit of the doubt by the United States in the adjustment of claims and that the Veterans' Bureau has not been rigid in the matter, as has been alleged in some quarters. How about England? From the table previously given we see that England's war wounded with reduced ability is 1,143,523. Figures covering discharge for sickness are not available, but for England as well as for France, for which the data are also lacking, we shall make use of the ratio for the United States between the number discharged for accident or sickness and the whole number under arms. This was found to be 2.7 per cent per year.

Since the European countries were in the war four years and three months, this would mean that 10.8 per cent. of their total troops mobilized should be added to the number with reduced ability due to war wounds. The total number of British forces mobilized was 8,904,000, of which number 74 per cent., or 6,588,960, were from the British Isles. Ten and eight-tenths per cent. of this added to the 1,143,523, the number disabled from battle casualties, gives us a total of 1,855,129 with reduced ability as a result of the war. The last available report of the British Ministry of Pensions gives 1,260,050 as the number of men in the armed forces who have been pensioned for war disability—i. e., 67.9 per cent.

France, as shown, had 3,157,375 war wounded; and by applying the Copenhagen

figures we have a probable number of 1,739,712 with ability decreased from wounds. Adding 10.8 per cent. of the 8,410,000 troops mobilized—908,280—as representing the probable number with reduced ability because of accident or sickness we have a total of 2,647,992 with reduced ability of service origin—that is, eligible to subsidy. France has granted subsidies to 1,512,000 of these, or 57 per cent.

The following shows in tabular form the conditions for the three countries:

	Eligible for Subvention.	Number Granted Subvention.	Percentage Granted Subvention.
United States.	284,616	424,843	149.0
England	1,855,129	1,260,050	67.9
France	2,647,992	1,512,000	57.0

So much for our generosity to the disabled veterans from the standpoint merely of numbers. It is plain that with us en-



BRIG. GEN. FRANK T. HINES
Director, United States Veterans' Bureau

trance to the group of eligibles to financial aid is broad and easy; that the applicant for disability compensation has been given the benefit of the doubt; that we have preferred to err in the direction of generosity rather than to run the risk of denying some worthy man his just due.

We have, then, beaten our two European allies in the matter of "how many," but how do we stand on the other question—how much? Here we must consider two forms of aid given to disabled veterans by the countries covered by this study: (1) Disability compensation, either permanent or temporary, based upon the impairment of earning power of the individual, and (2) training allowance, a subsidy granted during any period of vocational re-education necessitated by reason of some physical disability which makes the pre-war occupation impossible to follow. Allowances for dependents are made under each of these plans.

To July 1, 1926, the United States had paid as disability compensation to veterans of the World War the sum of \$706,413,670.90. Disability awards vary in amount from double total of \$200 per month to 10 per cent. partial temporary of \$8 per month, the average of all active disability compensation claims being \$39.49 per month, or \$473.88 per year. On July 1, 1926, the active disability claims were classified as follows:

Temporary partial (from \$8 to \$79).....	74,271
Temporary total (\$80).....	22,097
Permanent partial (from \$10 to \$99).....	102,679
Permanent total (\$100 and \$150).....	28,571
Double permanent total (\$200).....	32

Total..... 227,650

A special study made in 1923 showed that the basis of award for disability claims was as follows:



The United States Veterans' Bureau, Washington, D. C.

Accident at sea.....	700
Accident overseas.....	6,238
Accident in United States.....	6,137
Action at sea.....	46
Action overseas.....	47,612
Action in United States.....	43
Disease at sea.....	2,903
Disease overseas.....	39,508
Disease in United States.....	49,933
Unclassified	29,970
Total.....	183,090

The total number of active awards of disability claims on Aug. 1, 1924, was 181,357.

During the year ended March 31, 1923, England paid the sum of £69,501,476, or \$337,082,158, to 1,285,000 veterans and their dependents or an average sum of \$262 per man per year.

The United States paid an average of \$39.49 per month, or \$473.88 per annum, to the same class of beneficiaries. Figures are not available covering the entire post-war period, but the year cited is probably sufficiently typical to prove a valid basis of comparison. It would be difficult to say whether or not the larger American subvention would buy more creature comfort for the recipient than would the smaller one for England, but it seems probable that it would, even considering the high cost of living in our country.



During the year 1923 France paid 3,197,-718,000 francs as disability compensation to 1,512,000 and their dependents—that is, an average of 2,114 francs per annum. During that year the French franc averaged twelve to the dollar making the French subvention the equivalent of \$176 American money.

All three of the countries covered by our study recognized the fact that society could not afford to spare from the ranks of producers the tremendous numbers of men who were returning from the battlefronts incapacitated by reason of wounds or disease to carry on in their pre-war occupations. Nor could they afford to pay from the public treasury the sums that would be necessary to support them in idleness under a pension system. So each country established more or less complete machinery for returning its disabled veterans to some form of lucrative employment. The idea had nothing of the eleemosynary or benevolent in its inception; merely sound business methods. The men were needed in productive enterprises, so they were refitted for them. Funds were lacking to support them, so they were made self-supporting.

Each of the countries offered free vocational rehabilitation to all veterans with physical disability, allowances being made for maintenance while undergoing the process, and both England and France went a little further than this in the attempt to eliminate the pension by giving them an earning power.

Although in the last analysis there is

probably no element of generosity in the vocational rehabilitation idea of any of the countries, but merely the desire to make every man the maximum producer of wealth within his inherent possibilities, nevertheless, the degree to which moneys have been expended by them in accomplishing this end may be taken as a measure of their generosity in the matter.

COST AND RESULTS IN UNITED STATES

Congressional action, providing for vocational rehabilitation in the United States Veterans' Bureau, states that any honorably discharged veteran of the World War "who after discharge, in the opinion of the board, is unable to carry on a gainful occupation, to resume his former occupation or to enter upon some other occupation, or is unable to continue the same successfully, shall be furnished by said board, when vocational rehabilitation is feasible, such course of rehabilitation as the board shall prescribe and provide." The act directs further that courses of vocational rehabilitation be provided without cost for those whose disability did not prevent them from returning to their former occupations, but who were entitled to compensation under the War Risk Insurance act. The former class receive special maintenance allowances, while the latter receive tuition together with the disability allowances which have already been referred to.

Of the 832,172 veterans who up to July 1, 1926, had applied for some form of aid



through the Veterans' Bureau, 334,578 had been granted vocational training under one or the other of the two provisions stated above. Of this number 180,109 actually enrolled in the Rehabilitation Division of the Bureau. On July 1, 1926, 127,035 of this number had finished training and 2,027 were still in the process.

The entire cost of the operation, including maintenance of trainees and dependents, has been \$642,581,699.08 for the entire period since the war, or \$3,567 for each man who has entered training. This would certainly seem to be generosity on the part of the American people toward their disabled veterans. But how has this money been expended; and what has it accomplished?

As to the former: it costs \$13 per month, per man, for tuition and other incidentals of training and for each man receiving training maintenance as distinguished from disability maintenance, roughly \$130 per month for his own support and that of his dependents. The scale of payment may be judged by the following items: Single man, \$80; man with wife and no children, \$115; man with wife and one child, \$125; man with wife and six children, \$150; man with no wife but one child, \$105; man with no wife but six children, \$140; man with no wife and no children, but with two dependent parents, \$120; and so forth.

It would be strange if this generous living allowance did not stimulate the ambition for vocational training. The figures

of cost, however, running as they do into many millions, might lead one to wonder whether we were not doing it all on too lavish a scale; in fact, whether it were worth while. Let us see.

Some 200,000 men will by vocational re-education either be taken from the ranks of non-producers and placed in the ranks of producers, or they will be stepped up from a lower to a higher earning power. Let us consider the first group and presume it to be one-half the whole number; i. e., 100,000. Professor Bogue in his "Direct and Indirect Cost of the Great World War," published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, summarizes various scientific attempts to determine the economic value of a man to society, based upon his earning power, and concludes that in the United States it is \$4,720. If vocational rehabilitation returns 100,000 at the beginning of their productive period—which is essentially true for our veterans—we have a direct contribution of \$472,000,000 from one-half our group.

But further, if they had not been returned to the ranks of producers they would have remained in that of consumers merely, a dead weight of roughly \$2,000 per man. "A penny saved is a penny earned," and here we have \$200,000,000 more on the credit side of our account, which, added to the other, more than pays for the whole business.

How about the other hundred thousand? No tabulation has been made of the entire

group of rehabilitated trainees, to determine the effect of the process on the earning power, but the 10,300 rehabilitated in one section of the country have been so studied, with the following results: For the 955 whose records show the pre-war earning power to have been \$600 or less, the post-rehabilitation wage is between \$1,000 and \$1,500. For this group it is practically doubled. For the 3,265 who earned between \$600 and \$1,000, the average wage is between \$1,000 and \$1,500. The 3,400 \$1,000 to \$1,500 men came up to the \$1,500 to \$2,000 class based upon averages. Above this salary grade the increase disappears, but the groups are small.

INCREASED EARNING POWER

Another similar study based upon a smaller group of rehabilitated trainees shows an average increase of \$305 per annum over the pre-war earning power. If we suppose the post-war producing period of a rehabilitated trainee to be twenty years, the average increased contribution to economic productivity is more than \$6,000, which gives us for the 100,000 men involved the tremendous sum of \$600,000,000.

This increased earning power has been brought about through a change of vocation from some low-paying trade to a better paying trade or to a profession. This was also true for the higher professions, for the highest educational institutions of the country were made available for the veteran undergoing rehabilitation, a thing which no other country has done, to any extent.

Recent statistics show that there were trainees in nearly 3,000 regularly established institutions of learning in the United States at Government expense, the registration in June, 1924, at a few selected at random, being as follows: Harvard 102, Massachusetts Institute of Technology 57, Columbia 122, University of Pennsylvania 203, University of Georgia 300, University of California 201 and Stanford University 96. In these and other institutions the total registration in certain of the 351 vocational objectives was as follows:

Electricians	2,381	Tailors	1,016
Bookkeepers	1,964	Machinists	1,012
Jewelry trades	1,624	Teachers	619
Surveyors	1,469	Dentists	579
Accountants	1,441	Cabinet makers	571
Draftsmen	1,401	Physicians	454
Engineers	1,340	Dental mech.	334
Shoe Repairers	1,163	Clergymen	147

Not all the veterans undergoing vocational rehabilitation go to such institutions.

In June, 1924, 16,000 only of the whole number were in them, 1,600 being in schools established and maintained directly by the Veterans' Bureau, 22,000 were being trained in various industrial enterprises, and 4,000 were receiving instruction while carrying on agricultural projects of their own.

England has gone one step further than we in the extension of the privileges of vocational rehabilitation to her veterans, in that she admits all veterans with a disability at the time of discharge from active service, irrespective of whether or not it be incurred or aggravated by service. In spite, however, of this fact the thing has not been so popular there as with us and with perhaps ten times as many eligibles but little more than 100,000 have availed themselves of the opportunity. The latest date for which figures are available, 88,000 veterans had completed training in some trade; 4,018 had finished that part of the training which is usually given in a trade school and were in suspended status awaiting completion in some private workshop; 10,857 were then in training, and 5,326 were awaiting entrance to training.

RELATIVE COSTS, ENGLAND, FRANCE, UNITED STATES

England has accomplished her rehabilitation task with a much smaller expenditure of money than have we, the total outlay up to the time of the last report for private soldiers and non-commissioned officers being £20,400,000, with another smaller sum which we shall discuss later, for officers. The relatively small cost of rehabilitation of the English soldier is due largely to the reduced maintenance pay granted during the process. It has been shown that the average monthly maintenance allowance made to our trainees to cover their own expenses and those of dependents is \$130 and that this sum represents nine-tenths of the total cost. In England a very elaborate scale of allowances was set up increasing from the private through the non-commissioned officer to the highest grade of warrant officer and also including every combination of dependent relatives. But whereas with us the minimum paid to a single man without dependents is \$80—in most cases it is actually \$100—the English private under similar conditions receives but \$28.66, and the maximum possible to a private—a widower with eight children—is \$89.41. With us the lone private would receive nearly four times as much and one with a large family, twice the amount.

The highest class of warrant officer with a family of eight receives \$105.01, the maximum grant made. In England, as with us, training is provided in private educational institutions, private workshops and Government training centres. They also make use of Government factories, a thing which we have not done.

Beside the above schemes for the re-education of the enlisted man, England maintained for a time a separate one for officers or others of an educational standard similar to that required for a commission in the army or navy. Under this plan courses are offered in the universi-

mentioned classes had passed through the various training centres; the greatest number were service men. As regards the vocational objectives of these men, a tabulation of 32,300 shows the following distribution:

Teaching, commerce, art.....	8,600
Agriculture	4,100
Industries in wood.....	4,800
Industries in iron.....	5,300
Industries in leather.....	5,700
Various other trades.....	3,800
	<hr/> 32,300

It is impossible to determine from available data the cost of the whole enterprise,



Huts for tuberculosis patients at the United States Veterans' Hospital No. 51, Tucson, Arizona

ties and higher technical, agricultural and professional schools. Some 38,000 officers have been so trained at a total cost of £12,390,000, or about \$1,300 each.

In France, as early as December, 1914, private enterprise attacked the problem of the rehabilitation of the disabled veterans returning in large numbers from the front, and has largely participated throughout. The process has been carried on as by the two other nations studied, in private or semi-private institutions of learning, in special schools and in private workshops. The rights to rehabilitation were not restricted to service men, but included war widows and civilian victims of the war, though these latter two classes were not included until 1921, and then with certain limitations. To September, 1923, at which time the rehabilitation program was practically completed, 72,000 of the three above

but with their characteristic thrift the French people have completed it at a relatively small outlay. Men undergoing rehabilitation received the regular separation allowance of 1 franc 25 centimes (24 cents, based upon par value of the franc) and 75 centimes (14.4 cents) for each dependent. This amounts to roughly \$7.50 per month for the man and \$4.20 per month for each dependent. In most instances an additional franc or two a day was received by the trainee from the sale of the work produced by him, but maintenance allowances are in marked contrast to the average of \$130 received monthly by the American trainee. In 1922 the Départements were legally authorized to add to the emoluments of those undergoing rehabilitation the sum of 2 francs per day for each of the first three dependents; 2 francs 50 centimes for the fourth and 3 francs for the fifth and any

additional. Here is shown a premium on progeny.

That we have been generous the following summary of the basic figures shows:

France the privileges of re-education have not seemed enticing, with us our disabled veterans have fairly scrambled for them, nearly 700,000 having made application.

Country.	Eligibles.	Disability Comp. Allowed.	Per cent.	Average Amount (Annual).	Rehab. Granted.	Per cent.	Amount Comp. (Annual).
United States.	284,616	424,834	149.0	\$473.00	334,578	117.5	\$1,616.00
England	1,855,129	1,260,050	67.9	262.00	139,554	7.5	686.16
France	2,647,992	1,512,000	57.0	176.00	72,000	2.7	270.00

THE BRILLIANT RECORD OF AMERICA

We have granted disability compensation to more than four times the percentage of seeming eligibles allowed by England or France. For each man to whom this has been granted the amount averages nearly double that paid by England and almost three times that paid by France.

In the matter of rehabilitation we have granted the privilege to more than fifteen times the percentage of English eligibles that have availed themselves of it and more than forty times the percentage for France. We have actually completed the rehabilitation, or have in the process at the present time, more than nine times the proportion of English eligibles, while for France it is almost thirty times. As regards maintenance allowances during training even the recognized difference in living costs in the countries studied by no means qualifies the conclusion that we have been generous.

There is one fact that is plainly shown by this study, that whereas in England and

This may be accounted for by any one or all of three reasons: First, ambition; in the United States the desire to rise in the economic and social scale is probably more pronounced than in the other countries covered. Second, the relative desirability of the courses offered. With us, any eligible to training who was believed by the official advisers of the Veterans' Bureau to be fitted, both inherently and by academic preparation, for a professional course in our colleges and universities, could get it. In the other countries—except for the officer class in England—the courses were largely restricted to the manual trades. Third, the allurements of the higher training allowances.

From a purely financial standpoint the system of vocational rehabilitation is a paying proposition with us, apart from any consideration of the obligation which we owe to those who risked the supreme sacrifice. But, after all, in the last analysis, it is not generosity at all; merely good business.



The Turkish Soldier's Good Qualities

By MARY MILLS PATRICK, LL.D.

PRESIDENT EMERITA OF CONSTANTINOPLE WOMAN'S COLLEGE

THERE is a Turkish proverb that says, "Between hearts there is a road." The easiest way to find that road is to live in the country with a people and see them in their natural setting. As I have spent decades in Turkey, I have naturally learned to value the Turk as a man. I have eaten his salt, accepted his protection, sympathized with his suffering and laughed with him, and I have learned to know the real Turk as he actually is. The ignorance of Turkish people among those who should know better was shown in the discussion in the United States Senate over the Lausanne Treaty, which, I regret to say, failed of ratification. Those who have lived and worked among the Turks, those who are at the heads of great educational institutions and commercial enterprises in Turkey, favored the treaty; the opposition came chiefly from those who have never been in the country and were influenced by the rancor and hatred of political exiles. It is a tribute to the good sense of our State Department that we have just negotiated an understanding with the Turkish Government whereby we have restored full treaty relations under sanctions of international law. I am sure that the result will be a new attitude toward the Turkish people. I am glad to be able to do my share in giving the American public a better understanding of the Turks, whom I know to be the very opposite of what is the popular estimate of this much-maligned people.

Near our college, when we were in Scutari, was a barracks where we used to see the soldiers from the country being trained into military habits. It was curious to see the great clumsy peasants, under the direction of German officers, forcing themselves to the goose-step, holding themselves awkwardly and stiffly and trying to see passers-by out of the corners of their eyes.

For seven centuries at least the Turks have been a military race, and for most of that time a conquering nation. Their valor is always recognized by their enemies. In the World War the Turkish soldiers fought with heroic dash and courage. They would advance with fury in savage bayonet charges, yelling, "For Allah and

Enver Pasha," and nothing could turn them back. But they have also been more than once commended by their enemies for clean and decent fighting. Lord Kitchener, in speaking of them to the House of Lords on Sept. 15, 1915, said: "It is only fair to acknowledge that, judged from a humane point of view, the methods of warfare pursued by the Turks are vastly superior to those that have disgraced their Prussian masters."

The British have many tales to tell of kind and chivalrous treatment meted out by the Turks to their prisoners, for the simple Turkish soldier is much too good-natured not to share his bread and water, or whatever he has, with his prisoners. Hardships undergone by the latter resulted from the severity of the circumstances, and any cruelty that was ever shown could be traced to commands from higher up. An English correspondent obtained and published the following expression of views from one who investigated conditions in Turkey: "British officers and men whom I have met in Turkey generally told me that they were well treated; and my experience is similar so far as civilians are concerned. The internment of civilians, I admit, is frequently attended by serious hardships, but these arise from the general conditions and are not to be ascribed to cruelty on the part of the Turks."

The only people who criticized the Turkish army on the Western front were their allies and virtual masters. This might have been because the Turks made no secret of the fact that they blamed the Germans for all the misfortunes that befell them. In any case, the German naval and military officers constantly expressed scorn for what they called the laziness and slackness of their Turkish charges. The German Admiral at Constantinople never tired of declaring to other Europeans at his club that the Turks as fighting men were hopelessly inefficient. Those who met them on the field, however, paid willing homage to the stoical heroism of the Turkish soldiers, to their power of resistance and to their bravery and fearlessness of death.

Even a naturally military people like the Turks can have too much of fighting, and

the Turks during the last sixteen years have had decidedly too much. Moreover, war is not the pleasant pastime that it was when Chief Othman, the thirteenth century founder of the military glory of the Ottoman Turks, led his horsemen to single combats, or on gay looting expeditions. War has been a sorry game for the common soldier these last years. When Enver Pasha mobilized the Turkish army for the World War, it was widely felt as a tragedy. Most of the Turks realized that in addition to being depleted financially and physically by the recent Balkan wars, they had no funds with which to supply the army with even the necessary clothing, to say nothing of financing a country during a war. It is probable that many of the older and wiser officers who have been dismissed from the army would have been glad to combine and revolt, but the power against them was too great. At this time, our strongest feeling for the common soldier was commiseration. They were such a pitiful lot. They wore rags and tatters, and they had no shelter. They filled every part of Constantinople; they occupied our Scutari property, which the college had vacated the previous Spring, and in Arnautkeuy, where our new college stood, they crowded into all the vacant houses, and seemed omnipresent beyond our walls.

MISERABLE CONSCRIPTS

Military conscription forced all the Turkish men and many of the Christians and Jews into the ranks, although the latter were often able to buy exemption. Every day from our college we saw new groups of wretched-looking men led off by gendarmes to fight for what they would have fought against if they had had any choice. They did not look as if any transformation by uniform or gun would make fighters of them. Every evening drums were beaten in the village to call those in hiding to come forth. One of our most poignant war experiences was hearing the beating of that fateful recruiting drum as it sounded its reiterated call to war. During the whole Summer of 1915 we could hear it from our beds at night and our hearts would sicken at the sound. Then the next morning we would see the miserable devils that had been caught being marched away. The conscription was so severe that even today many Turkish homes are entirely bereft of men. But Enver Pasha pushed on the conscription. Once he is said to have summoned some of the leading Turkish women in one of the cities to persuade them of the glory and joy of having their sons die for their country.



GHAZI MUSTAPHA KEMAL PASHA

The army leader who led the Turks to victory and created the republic of which he is now the head

In answer, one of the women of high social standing stepped forward and said, in a calm and dignified tone: "Your Excellency, may your mother soon have that glory and joy!"

Early in the war there was much disaffection among Turkish troops. They disliked their German officers with their German methods and discipline, so strange and distasteful to the easy-going Turks. We were told that Turkish prisoners often expressed joy at being taken, that they spat at the name of German, saying, "English good, German bad." But perhaps the strongest quality of the Turk is loyalty—loyalty to country and religion and loyalty to employer or ally. So they fought their best, although knowing not why. The report reached us that papers, probably issued by the German officers, were found on the bodies of the dead Turkish soldiers calling on them to kill ruthlessly, since their hope of Paradise lay in winning the battle or dying in the attempt.

As the war went on there arose the sad

need of hospitals. These were established in all the homes on the Bosphorus that could be secured, so that again there passed our grounds many groups of soldiers, this time wounded, perhaps the same men that we had seen march away so sadly. In the desolate temporary hospitals they would sit looking out of the windows or sun themselves in the gardens, if possible hungrier and more wretched than even before. The Government forbade the giving of food to the starving soldiers in the barracks, but these often begged in secret, and of course upon opportunity "requisitioned" fruit and vegetables from neighboring gardens.

Hospitals increased in number continually, and their need for help became greater

and greater. The Faculty and students of Constantinople Woman's College were naturally eager to cooperate in this pitiful emergency, and we furnished beds and nurses as far as we could. Never have eager nurses found more responsive and appreciative patients than the Mahomedan Turks. There was, for example, an officer, a remarkably fine-looking, vigorous young man, who must have gone out to war in the flower of his strength, and was now lying there wasted and in agony. When the moment of his release came he looked up to Heaven and with his last breath cried: "Allah, Allah, I forgive all my enemies." The stoic, pathetic sufferings of these childlike, kindly, uncomprehending Turkish soldiers filled every heart with pity for them.

All the time that the fighting at Gallipoli was in prog-

ress the hospitals in Constantinople overflowed with wounded. The number of doctors and the supply of medicines were both inadequate. Emergency dressings put on at the Dardanelles were not replaced by proper bandages until the men reached Constantinople. In many hospitals the wounded came in so fast that two would often have to be put in one bed, and the same ward of ten contained the wounded and those having contagious diseases. The many American and English women who worked as nurses in these hospitals all testified that the patience of the Turkish men under suffering was beyond praise, probably a direct outgrowth of their religion, for "Islam" means "submission" or



Turkish soldiers embarking for Asia Minor during the campaign that resulted in Kemal Pasha's victory over the Greeks



Wide World.

A detachment of the former Sultan's soldiers loading supplies for the front during the campaign against Kemal Pasha's troops who eventually proved victorious

"resignation to the will of Allah." When a Turkish soldier suffered agony he would almost never cry out or even groan; sometimes he might mutter "Allah! Allah!" but that was all. And the men were touchingly sympathetic with each other. When one of them was suffering with especial intensity others would raise themselves in their beds on all sides and watch him with pity, murmuring words of commiseration.

SIMPLE PEASANTS

Most of these private soldiers were the simple peasants of the interior of Turkey. They lay quietly in their beds, with bullet heads, round low foreheads, full lips, and the dark, wistful eyes of a faithful animal turned to the nurse or visitor. They were immensely appreciative of whatever was brought them, especially cigarettes and flowers. If a visitor left a bunch of flowers on a table in a hospital, in a very short time they would be taken from the vase and tied to a patient's bedpost where he could watch them lovingly, or they would lie on his bed beside him. These men had the usual qualities of their class as we have al-

ways known the Turkish peasant. They are so simple and kindly and untouched by the vices of the great city that foreigners who have lived among them always love them. These men were mostly illiterate, so that those who could read papers to the others were like the story-tellers so much in demand in the country, and their beds were surrounded by eager men who were strong enough to go to them for the news and some entertainment. Neither could they write, so the professional "scribe" that one still sees on street corners in Constantinople to write letters for the illiterate, or some kind nurse acting as such, had to write for them. Some of these country folk still retained the old-fashioned idea that a man's wife must never be mentioned; therefore they would stubbornly refuse to give the name and address of their wives to those who were ready to write of their progress. A few would refuse to acknowledge that they were writing to women. These peasants continually marveled at European methods of bathing and at the amount of fresh air demanded by the nurses. They were grateful for all that was done for them, and accepted

cakes and fruit with courtesy, but, as we have said, it was flowers that pleased them most.

We often ask ourselves why these kindly, harmless men should thus suffer and die. What did these poor, ignorant, honest peasants know of the causes of the war? They had never heard of Germany's push to the Orient. Their geographical knowledge was so slight that they did not even understand where they were fighting, much less the intricate political causes of their misery. The Turkish soldiers knew nothing; they simply obeyed, loyal as always to their officers, even under severe discipline and great privations, giving their lives fearlessly for country and religion without knowing the reason why. They endured hardships quite impossible to realize or even imagine by those who do not know the Orient. Starvation for days, cold so bitter that a night sentry could not stand watch more than ten minutes at a time without danger of freezing, and in the hot Summer there were deadly thirst and horrors of flies and vermin. Their uniforms were often made of raw sheepskin, and seldom were their shoes of any other material. Taken in all, the Turkish soldier suffered much more and much less than Western soldiers. He suffered more because his outfit was so meagre, and less because he was not accustomed in times of peace to the comforts that belong to so-called civilization. He never had, however, the questionable resource of turning to liquor for partial forgetfulness, for the Moslem soldier does not drink.

One thing that amused the Turkish soldiers, whether in camp, barracks or hospital, was story-telling. The Turks have for centuries told and laughed at stories, often the same old stories. They are particularly fond of tales of a certain humorist called Nasr-eddin-Hoja—a hoja is a teacher or master—and they like to tell these to illustrate a point in conversation. The listeners throw back their heads and laugh silently, with as much gusto as if the great-grandparents had not laughed over them, too. Here, for example, is a group of officers, enjoying cigarettes and convalescence until the small hours of the morning and quite free of supervision to say what they pleased.

A PERPLEXING QUESTION

"Which is the right side of the war, anyhow?" asked Captain Ahmed, a thoughtful man of about thirty-five, who had been very severely wounded in the chest. All smoked in silence for a while. Then a cer-

tain Major Selim, sitting with his bandaged foot in a chair, said: "It is about like the choice that Nasr-eddin made between his sons-in-law." "How was that?" asked the others, as if they had never heard the story. "Well," said Major Selim, "it was like this: Nasr-eddin had two daughters, both of whom were visiting their father one day. 'And how is the world going with you, O my daughters?' asked the hoja. 'My husband, the farmer, has sown many seeds and if rain comes he has promised me a new dress,' said the first. 'My husband is a brickmaker,' said the second, 'and if no rain falls, he has promised me a new dress.' 'Then,' said the perplexed father, 'one of you has chosen the best, but I don't know which it is.'"

Corporal Mehmet, who had been silently smoking, with his legs crossed under him, remarked, meditatively: "I suppose the real reason why we go willingly into the army is loyalty to our true religion, which promises so many rewards to the faithful; we cannot go against that." Captain Ahmed, who was somewhat of a skeptic, hummed sarcastically and raised his well-marked eyebrows. "In matters of religion," he said, "I am inclined to agree with Nasr-eddin Hoja. Do you remember what he said about graves and the Day of Judgment?" "No," said the others, "what was it?" "One day," Captain Ahmed replied, "Nasr-eddin made his will and in it he said: 'When I am dead, I wish to be buried in an old grave.' 'Why do you wish this?' asked the people standing around. 'Because, when the Recording Angel comes,' replied the hoja, 'I will say, "Do you not see that this is an old grave, and my record has been taken already!"'" "Clever as Shaitan, and just as irreligious," murmured an officer in a corner.

"But the most sarcastic of these stories," continued Captain Ahmed, "is this one. Nasr-eddin had a lamb that he had brought up with great care. One day some of his friends got together and said, 'Let us get Nasr-eddin Hoja's lamb and have a feast.' So one of them went to him and said, 'Hoja, Effendi, tomorrow is the Day of Judgment, and after that you cannot eat your lamb. Bring it out and let us eat it today.' So many of them said that the Day of Judgment was coming that finally the hoja believed it. So he took the lamb and slaughtered it, and carrying it to the field on his back, he lighted a fire and began to roast it. While he was cooking it his friends took off their coats and began running about, playing pranks with one another. Nasr-eddin

Hoja, not having enough fuel and seeing their coats lying there, put them into the fire. When after a while his friends came back, heated from their play, to get their coats, they found them all burned to ashes. 'Why have you burned up our coats?' they asked angrily of the hoja. 'As tomorrow is the Day of Judgment,' he replied, 'what will you need of coats?' All the men chuckled at this story, their sad eyes taking on a mirthful twinkle.

Said Captain Ahmed: "The mollahs should teach us better when we are young and teach us the real things of life." "The mollahs!" was the contemptuous reply. "They are like the cock in another of those stories. One day Nasr-eddin Hoja put his cock and hens in a basket and took the road to Sivri Hissar. Then he said 'These poor creatures are captives; let us give them a bit of freedom.' When he had let them all go free, each of the hens ran in a different direction. Nasr-eddin then took a stick in hand, went for the cock, and drove him before him, crying, 'You, who know at midnight when it will be morning, can't you find the right way in broad day?'"

"The great question for us is a national one," spoke up a pale man with a drooping mustache. "What are the Germans going to do for us after the war?" "The Germans!" said Corporal Mehmet with the scorn in his voice of which only an Oriental is capable. "They promise much and do



Wide World

Turkish troops returning to Constantinople after their victory over the Greeks and the departure of the Allied troops from the former Turkish capital

little. They are like Nasr-eddin's kettles, and we have been just as credulous as the man who was cheated in the story. Once Nasr-eddin Hoja came to borrow a copper kettle of his neighbor. After a few weeks he returned it with a little kettle just like it. 'I lent you only one kettle,' said the neighbor. 'Oh,' said the hoja, 'the big kettle has given birth to a little one.' A few days

later, he came and borrowed both kettles and never returned them. After awhile the neighbor went to inquire for his kettles. Nasr-eddin Hoja cried, 'May you remain in health, but the kettles are both dead.' 'How can a kettle die?' remonstrated the neighbor. 'As you have already believed that one was born, can you doubt that both could die?' asked the hoja triumphantly."

THE HOSPITABLE HOJA

"To quote our wise hoja again," the corporal continued, "the Germans have brought us a hare, and they will come, after the war, asking for soup in form of concessions and railways and all the resources that our empire contains. So have the European Powers always treated us. You know the story: One day a peasant brought the hoja a hare. Nasr-eddin treated the man with all courtesy and gave him soup to eat. Some weeks later this same man came again, and, as the hoja had forgotten the incident of the hare, asked if he might be Nasr-eddin's guest: 'for I,' said he, 'am the man who brought you the hare.' The master then received him, but some days later some other people came and invited themselves as guests. 'Who are you?' asked the hoja. 'We are neighbors of the man who brought the hare,' they replied, and partook of his soup. Again some days later still another lot of people came and asked for soup, and when Nasr-eddin asked them who they were, they replied, 'We are neighbors of the neighbors of the man who brought the hare.' 'Welcome,' said the hoja, and handed them a spoonful of clear water. 'What is this?' asked the guests. 'This is the sauce of the sauce of the hare,' replied the hoja."

The laughter here was touched with bitterness. "Alas, I fear we shall not be able to pay them even in water," muttered the one in the corner. "We've been poor dupes, Allah knows," added another, while Ahmed shrugged his shoulders sadly. "Yes," said Major Selim, "we have been in search of a mule's egg, like the peasant who came from the country to attend the bazaars. There he saw a large watermelon for sale. 'What is that?' he inquired. A wag who was standing by replied, 'That is a mule's egg.' 'Oh, thought the man, 'that is just what I need, as our mule is dead.' So he bought the watermelon and, tying it on his donkey, started for home. On the way the watermelon rolled off the donkey's back

and broke. Just then a little rabbit ran across the road. On arriving he explained to his wife: 'Oh, wife, wife, I bought a mule's egg for you, but alas, on the way home it broke and the little mule got out and ran away.'"

The turn of the conversation seemed to make each man conscious of his wound, and there was a melancholy silence for a while. But Corporal Mehmet finally said: "Do not be too much discouraged. I believe that our nation has still before it its most glorious period of existence. We must, however, be careful not to be like Nasr-eddin Hoja and his moon. One night Nasr-eddin looked down into the well and saw the moon there. 'Oh,' said he, 'the moon has fallen into the well. Bring me a hook and rope and I will pull it out.' So he took a long rope and a large iron hook, which he lowered into the well. Seizing the rope he pulled and pulled with all his might so hard that he fell over backward. Looking up into the heavens as he lay on his back on the ground, he saw the moon. 'Praise be to Allah,' cried he, 'I have put the moon back into the sky.' " "Ah, it got back anyhow, and we shall, too," said the man in the corner.

"Perhaps our camel will have wings," said Captain Ahmed. "You remember that one day Nasr-eddin said: 'Oh, ye Mussulmans! Ye should greatly thank the Most High that He has not given the camel wings. Had He done so, the camel might at any moment alight upon your houses or in your gardens and break your heads.' "

The men who held this conversation were educated officers. The best arm of the Turkish defense was made up of the able-bodied Turkish peasants of the interior who had not had their natures corrupted by the influence of city life. Uneducated, sincere, loyal in religion and long suffering in poverty and hard times, the peasant possesses some of the most desirable traits of the soldier. He is obedient, amenable to discipline, enduring under suffering, and absolutely submissive to those above him, from his superior officer to the will of that Almighty God, who, he believes, personally arranges all things in the life of the soldier and arranges them as they should be. The Turkish private is in nature simple, honest, lovable and peaceful until he is aroused to fight for country or religion. Then he meets all dangers with an unwavering and even fiendish courage.

The New Map of China

By HENRY C. FENN

LECTURER ON CHINESE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY; RESIDENT TWENTY YEARS IN CHINA AND A
TEACHER IN PEKING

THE Nationalists have not yet revised the old provincial boundaries, many of them centuries old. The accompanying maps show changes, some of which are of fourteen years' standing. They were the work of the first few years of the Republic. Yet few maps of China published in this country show these changes. Consequently when the newspapers report that the Manchurian war lord, Chang Tso-lin, is about to retire north of the Great Wall, keeping only the three Manchurian provinces and the districts of Jehol, Chahar and Suiyuan, the reader, consulting his atlas, is still at a loss to know where those three districts are located. A map of the Chinese Empire is considered out of date, yet these territories have been in existence as separate entities almost as long as the republic.

The old Empire of China embraced five major divisions: China Proper—commonly referred to as the Eighteen Provinces; Mongolia—sometimes divided into Outer and Inner; Eastern or Chinese Turkestan—called by the Chinese *Sinkiang*, the New Dominion, and Tibet. The outlying territories were added to China Proper along with sundry smaller Asiatic States by the late Manchu Dynasty. Manchuria was the native heath of the conquerors. Mongolia, Turkestan and Tibet were brought under Tatar sway by those intrepid warriors and statesmen, K'ang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung, contemporaries respectively of Louis XIV and of George Washington. The decay of the dynasty from 1821 on brought with it the gradual loss of the tributary States of Burma, Siam, Indo-China and Korea and the great island of Formosa or Taiwan.

The Revolution of 1911 gave birth to a "republic," which adopted as its flag a band of five stripes representing the five major divisions of the country and the five races which inhabited them. The red stripe stands for the Mongols; the yellow for the Manchus; blue for the Chinese; white for the Tibetans, and black for the Mohammedans of Turkestan and Northwest China Proper. This ensign supposedly represented a voluntary union of five peoples. Subsequent events, however, have proved all too clearly the fiction of that fine ideal. An

impotent China offered little to attract the races once conquered by K'ang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung, and one by one they threw off their allegiance to this mock republic.

Tibet, in fact, never did acknowledge its membership in the union. Chinese armies sent to subdue the Tibetans consistently failed. Today Tibet is as independent of China as is Turkey or Persia. Realizing the impossibility of holding Tibet by force, the Chinese Government to save its face resorted to a species of self-deception sometimes practiced even in more advanced States. It revised the map, creating a new border province of Ch'uanpien out of a slice of Eastern Tibet and one from Western Szech'uan. This province even it could not hold, so the sole result of the fiction has been to bring in the western boundary of the old province of Szech'uan better to coincide with the actual limits of China's power. The great sparsely populated plateau of Kokonor or Chinghai was similarly laid claim to by China, but to this day that region boasts no government, either Chinese or Tibetan, but remains, like Arabia, the unstaked heritage of nomads.

The chiefs of the Mongol tribes have long been torn in their allegiance between Russia and China. At the founding of the republic many Mongol princes gave it their support, believing promises of equal treatment and autonomous rule. These promises were never fulfilled, for the Chinese could not get rid of an age-old sense of race superiority. Consequently, when Russia offered closer trade contacts, it was very easy for Mongols to see that the geography of their rolling grasslands made them face north and that the Trans-Siberian Railway passed their very doors, being within easy motor transport distance of their chief marts of Urga and Uliassutai. Chinese rail heads were still far off and the promised Trans-Mongolian line from Peking to Urga has not even today materialized. So allegiance shifted back and forth until, after the Russian revolution, matters culminated in the setting up, under Russian protection, of an independent Mongolian Soviet Republic. This State, though not recognized by China, has led an unhampered separate existence since 1920.

The sacrifice of Tibet caused some little loss of face, but was of little practical import. Mongolia, however, was a different matter. The boundaries of old Mongolia reached to within 200 miles of Peking. Moreover, Inner Mongolia was the nearest and most natural outlet for surplus population; some Chinese had already migrated thither in the last days of the empire. So when Russia demanded that China recognize Mongolian autonomy, China countered with a complete separation of Inner Mongolia from Outer, agreeing to the autonomy of Outer Mongolia provided Russia recognized Chinese suzerainty over it. To Inner Mongolia was added a strip from the northern end of the provinces of Chihli and Shansi, and the whole territory thus formed was arbitrarily divided into "Three Special Administrative Areas"—we should say "territories." These were named Jehol, Chahar, and Suiyuan. The westernmost sector of Inner Mongolia being almost destitute of population was added to the province of Kansu under the name of "Sitao" or Western District. To make this change doubly secure, Chinese immigrants were rapidly rushed in. Mongols consequently migrated north, as they are not easily won to a settled life. Thus the predominance of the

more civilized race has been greatly increased, until today it is not likely that any one will dispute the question of a safe Chinese majority in the Three Special Administrative Areas.

Turkestan has given China some cause for worry, but the situation there is quite different from that in Tibet and Outer Mongolia. In the two latter the population is overwhelmingly native. In Turkestan, while the Chinese settlers are still decidedly in the minority, they have come in in sufficient numbers to make themselves felt as a force holding Sinkiang to the union. They hold all official positions. There is no such thing as self-government. In fact, Sinkiang is not now considered an outlying territory but one of the provinces, governed like any other province by an appointee of the central Government.

Manchuria, naturally enough, has never been a problem in the same sense that the other divisions have. Manchus and Chinese are no longer two races but one. Manchu as a language has dropped from general use. One small tribe, in the hills of Heilungchiang province, it is said, still talks Manchu. Apart from that few can even read it. Inter-marriage has been practiced for many decades. The overcrowded prov-



The map of China today as explained in the accompanying article and redrawn from a sketch map made by the author

ince of Shantung—the “heart” of China—has sent hundreds of thousands of its superfluous sons to farm the virgin black soil of Manchuria. Manchuria is commonly considered a part of China Proper today. Witness the decline in the use of the term “Eighteen Provinces” and the increase of the substitute “Twenty-two Provinces,” which includes Sinkiang as well as the “Three Eastern Provinces” of Manchuria.

Of lesser import but none the less interesting is the creation of a Federal District around Peking. That city is no longer a part of Chihli Province, but the centre of an area of fifty miles radius under a mayor with the powers of a provincial governor. This district is called in Chinese “Ching-chao,” and is shown on all Chinese maps as quite separate from Chihli Province.

CHINESE RAILWAYS TODAY

Over this map of China have slowly crept the beginnings of a railway web. The progress in railway extension between 1900 and 1912 was comparatively rapid. The creation of the republic and the destructive wars which have filled the fifteen years of its existence have exhausted the national revenues so that there has been little to apply to the extension of those much-needed arteries of the nation. Although the last few years cannot boast a large increase in mileage, nevertheless there have been several extensions whose importance far exceeds their length. These are not yet shown on most maps and therefore deserve mention. The following summary of the existing lines will show them in proper relation to the railway system as a whole:

1. *The Chinese Eastern Railway*—This line runs east and west across northern Manchuria. It was built by Imperial Russia as part of her Transsiberian line and is today leased to Soviet Russia and under joint Sino-Russian control;

2. *The South Manchurian Railways*—The Japanese took from Russia after the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5 the Russian railways in the southern half of Manchuria. That system has been extended to tap the resources of South Manchuria, most of which are being exploited by Japanese capital. A joint Sino-Japanese line has just been completed, running from Ssuningkai, north of Mukden on the South Manchuria line, to Tsitsihar on the Chinese Eastern. This is part of a plan to isolate the half-Russian city of Harbin and provide a Japanese-controlled line across South Man-

churia laterally. Such a line might eventually lead traffic between Peking and Moscow away from the Chinese Eastern Railway and so more into Japanese hands. The South Manchurian lines tap the ports of Dairen and Port Arthur at the end of the Liaotung Peninsula and connect with the Japanese railways in Korea (Chosen);

3. *The Peking-Suiyuan Railway*—A line was run northwest from Peking with Urga, Mongolia, as its ultimate objective. It was diverted westward from Kalgan in order to open up the grassy steppes of Suiyuan to colonization. It has lately been extended from Suiyuan City to the mart of Paotou-chen at the northeast bend of the Yellow River, thereby enhancing greatly the commercial value of the line. Moreover it now becomes a rival with two routes further south for the honor and commercial advantage of being the base of the long-hoped-for Central Asian Railway which must some day extend from Lanchow, capital of Kansu province, along the old caravan route which Marco Polo followed in the thirteenth century, across the desert plateau of Turkestan and connect with the Russian Central Asian roads. When the Christian General, Feng Yu-hsiang, held the northwest, he built a motor road from the railhead at Paotou-chen to Lanchow in Kansu. This he planned to parallel with rails but was obliged to give up the plan when the fortunes of war went against him;

4. *The Peking-Mukden Railway*—One of the oldest lines in the country, running from the capital to its port of Tientsin on the Gulf of Chihli and thence northeast to Mukden, capital of Manchuria;

5. *The Tientsin-Pukow-Shanghai Lines*—From Tientsin to Pukow, opposite Nanking on the Yangtze, is but a ride of a day and a night. Thence one can go on to Shanghai, Hangkow and now, Ningpo. This line will some day be continued down the coast to Foochow;

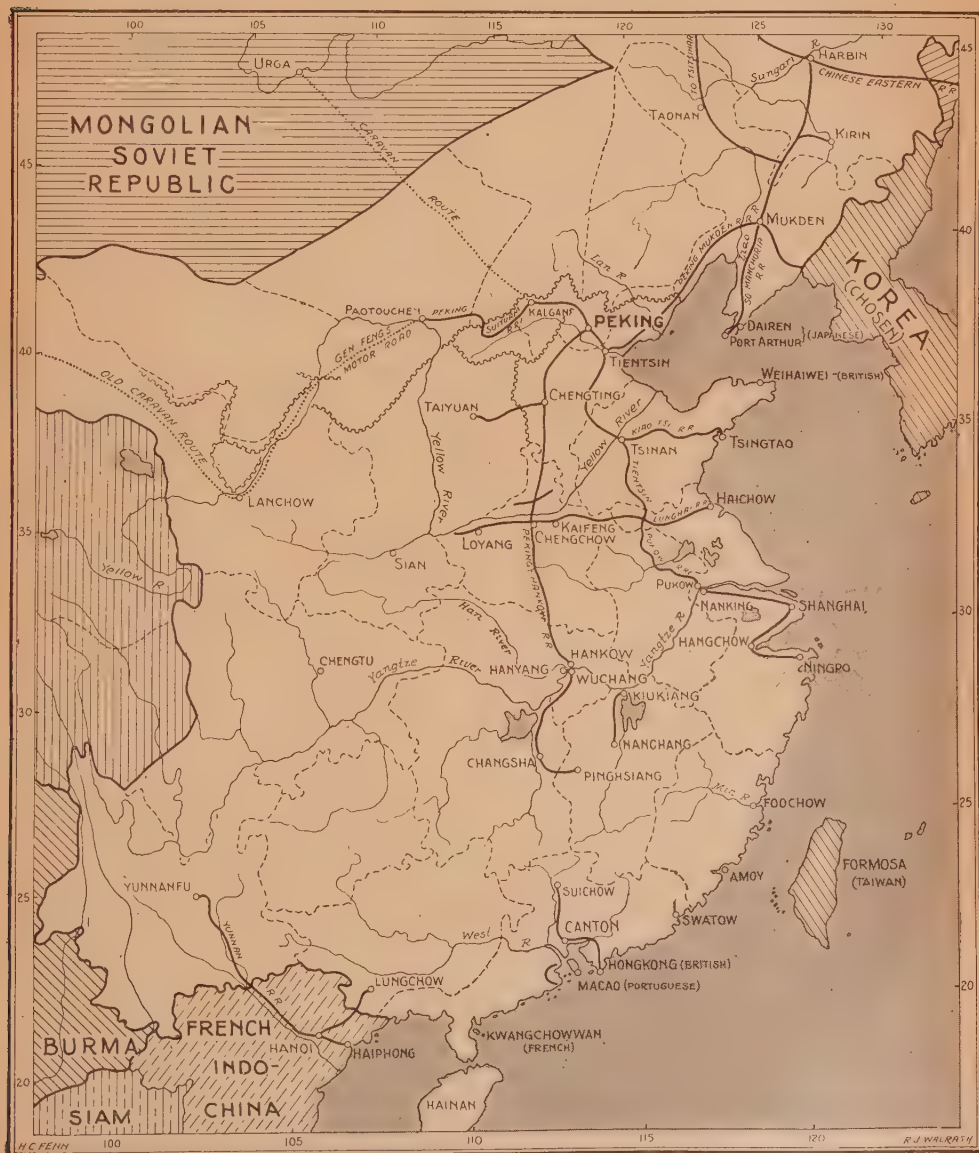
6. *The Peking-Hankow Railway*—South-west and then due south from the capital runs another line to Hankow, the geographical centre of old China Proper. The three cities of Hankow, Hanyang and Wuchang cluster about the juncture of the Yangtze and Han Rivers. It is quite possible that some day the capital of the nation may be moved there. Already the three cities are the industrial centre of the country;

7. *The Hankow-Canton Railway*—From Hankow the line was continued south toward Canton. This would have made a trunk line through the centre of the coun-

try binding North and South together in a way in which they have never in history been united. Funds ran short and the line was turned eastward into Kiangsi to tap some iron and coal mines, important in themselves, but nothing like as important as the linking of North and South. From Canton rails were laid northward as far as the foothills of the Southern Mountains. A 300-mile gap still separates the two rail-

heads. The completion of this line will mean as much to China as the linking of East and West did to the United States;

8. *The Kiao-Tsi Railway*—When the Germans leased the port of Kiaochow in Shantung province in 1898 they immediately built a railway from it to Tsinan, capital of the province. Tapping coal and iron as it did, it has from the first been one of China's most valuable lines. Japan took it



A railroad map of China in 1927 redrawn from a sketch map supplied by the author of this article

from Germany and after the Washington Conference returned it to China;

9. *The Lung-Hai Railway*—To meet the need of transverse lines, a road was laid east and west just south of the Yellow River through the provinces of Kiangsu and Honan, joining the Peking-Hankow and Tientsin-Pukow lines. This has lately been continued eastward to the new port of Haichow on the Kiangsu coast and is little by little reaching westward toward Tungkuan, the "Eastern Pass" which leads into Shensi. The plan was that this road should be extended to Sian, the capital of Shensi, thence to Lanchow in Kansu, and on across Central Asia;

10. *The Cheng-Tai Line*—A short line leaving the Peking-Hankow road at Chengting in Chihli and penetrating the mountains to Taiyuan, capital of Shansi, connecting that isolated province with the outside world;

11. *The Kiangsi Railway*—This line connects the port of Kiukiang on the Yangtze with Nanchang, capital of Kiangsi province;

12. *The Yunnan Railway*—From Haiphong in Indo-China, the French built a line to Yunnanfu, capital of Yunnan province. This naturally draws all the trade of that great province away from China into French-controlled territory.

Besides these main lines several short lines and branches have been built in various parts of the country. Progress in railway building is at a standstill at present. It goes without saying, however, that one of the earliest interests of a Nationalist government over a united China will be the extension of railways.

PROSPECTS OF FURTHER CHANGES

Having summarized changes already completed, it will not be out of place to mention some of the outstanding prospects in the way of further evolution of the map of China.

1. Britain is negotiating the return to China of the port of Weihaiwei on the Shantung promontory. This retrocession will make Shantung province once more completely Chinese. It should be understood that Weihaiwei was not seized in the same way that Kiaochow, Port Arthur, and Kwangchowwan were. When Russia took Port Arthur, China, feeling that at least Britain was the most honorable of her despoilers, asked her to lease Weihaiwei. Britain at first refused, but, awakening to the dangers of the Russian threat, accepted

on the stipulation that the lease of Weihaiwei should cease when Russia gave up Port Arthur. The Russian lease was for 25 years. Japan took that over in 1905. In 1915 she forced China to extend the lease to 99 years. Britain today is not stickling over the terms of the lease but merely asking for a responsible government to treat with.

2. The Nationalists have already started a motor road to link temporarily the railheads between Hankow and Canton. The rails are to be laid as soon as capital can be found. It is interesting to note that students of Chinese history claim that Yuan Shih K'ai could have controlled the entire country with little difficulty had that railroad to Canton been completed. The 300-mile gap spelled defeat to him. That same gap delayed the present Nationalist revolution for months if not years, and makes constantly possible the setting up of an independent administration in Canton by a comparatively small group of malcontents.

3. Red propaganda in Sinkiang has been working steadily to sever that last of the outlying dominions from China, with what degree of success there is little reliable information to show. A revolt in Sinkiang has been rumored more than once lately and is a distinct possibility as long as China is disunited and weak. The only thing which will hold the New Dominion is the railroad for which General Feng has paved the way. Meanwhile Sinkiang finds its easiest outlet via the Transsiberian, through the branches which Russia has so carefully run out from the trunk line to the borders of Chinese territory.

Further than these there are plenty of possibilities which make interesting speculation for the student of Far Eastern affairs but are of little value to the general reader. What the Nationalists may do to this old map is another field. But this too may better wait until China is at least united. Suffice it to say that China has been through essentially similar changes before. The sequence of aggrandizement followed by disintegration is well known in Chinese history. The disintegration has always led through a period—sometimes shorter, sometimes longer—of warring States and robber barons, back to a united China, rejuvenated, ready to engage anew her age-old mission of spreading her ancient culture to the surrounding barbarians, who may overrun her but who have ever and again vanished into that most ancient melting pot of the races.

The Earth's Population Limit

By WATSON DAVIS

MANAGING EDITOR, SCIENCE SERVICE, WASHINGTON

LIVING as we do in a world that is constantly contracting in its time dimension and is constantly expanding in its human population, it is little wonder that the question of the ultimate maximum population of the earth is being investigated. Malthus made his famous contribution to this subject before science had shown the possibilities of fuller and more abundant life upon this earth.

In the opinion of Dr. Albrecht Penck, the well known geographer of the University of Berlin, 8,000,000,000 is the number of inhabitants that the world can sustain if all its lands are utilized to the fullest extent. To the recent First International Congress on Soil Science meeting at Washington, Dr. Penck announced the result of his survey of the peoples of the earth, the present and potential food-supplying power of the fields they till, and what may yet be won from forest and desert. He refuses to bow to the ghost of Malthus at any mere 2,500,000,000, which is the limit allowed for world population by many of his colleagues. If this latter estimate is correct, our politico-economic problem is indeed acute, for we shall reach the 2,500,000,000 mark within a century. A hundred years ago, when Malthus first expressed his fears of world misery through over-population, and proposed birth restriction to avert it, there were 900,000,000 people in the world. The centennial of his gloomy prediction, 1920, saw the world population doubled, and with it at the same time a marked advance in the standards of living of many races.

The failure of Malthus's prophecy to be realized, Dr. Penck points out, has been due partly to the winning of new lands through the clearing of forest areas in the temperate zones, and partly to improved methods of cultivation applied to older lands. If comparable advances can be made in the yet untapped but immense resources of the tropics, the 1,750,000,000 inhabitants now on this planet have only begun to fulfill the ancient injunction to multiply, and replenish the earth and subdue it. To the objection that the white man cannot become acclimated to the moist tropics, Dr. Penck

opposes the reply that he has not yet made a really serious, scientific effort to do so, and that if he will descend gradually from his higher, cooler border lands he may yet be able to conquer the jungle and make it into a country he can live in.

Even if the tropics cannot be made permanently habitable for the white race, there are other peoples who can fill them if they are properly guided. For example, the natives of Java, under the benevolent despotism of the Dutch rule, have increased until now the 50,000 square miles of the island support a population of 35,000,000, or nearly 700 persons to the square mile. The Javanese have only an Oriental standard of living, it is true; yet the condition of their swarming millions now is better than that of the sparse scores of thousands of their ancestors before the science of the white man showed them how to improve their lot.

AVERAGE SIZE OF FAMILIES

Since the population of the earth depends largely upon the number of children that people are willing to have it is interesting to know under just what conditions these children live. The popular idea is that a "normal" family consists of two parents and three children. This is the family that is taken as a basis for many discussions as to family budgets, salaries, house plans, and other living problems. But this mythical family is not the usual one in the average American city home, if an investigation made in Chicago under the auspices of the American Home Economics Association and the University of California can be applied to the whole of America. The study covered 23,373 families, some childless, some having one or more children, and some of which are "broken," that is made up of one parent and one or more children. Of all these families, almost one-fourth had no children living at home when the figures were obtained. Another fourth had only one child. Practically one-fifth had two children, and less than one-third had three or more. The so-called normal family of two parents and three children was found in only 1 per cent. of the families studied.

Considering the actual number of children that must be provided for in these families, the data show that "more than two-thirds are in families which have three or more children." In other words, were each family to receive an income sufficient to support four members, more than two-thirds of the children would be inadequately provided for, since they would be in families of more than four members. In a four-child family the parents carry the burden of child care and dependency over an average period of twenty-four years. During seven years of this time one child is cared for; during another seven-year period, two children; during six years, three children; and during the last four years, four children. The number of children in divorced homes and the number of children living in lodging houses and hotels was very small.

The popular idea that the father, single-handed, supports his family was found true in only three-fifths of the families. In the other two-fifths the wife or children, or both, were listed as wage earners. Some light on the question of whether married women work because of necessity or in order to have careers is obtained through figures showing that 20 per cent. of the wives of the unskilled laborers are gainfully employed, while only 12 per cent. of the wives of the managerial and executive group are earners.

ENVIRONMENT AND INSANITY

The scientific twins, environment and heredity, shape individual human destinies. Just which is more active and important has been a question long discussed. A long and difficult investigation made by Dr. L. Vernon Briggs of Boston has brought new evidence upon the effect of those factors in insanity. Dr. Briggs has collected facts on 28,000 people who died in the past fifty years in the sand dune shore country of Cape Cod. This fishing region has had practically all American stock for generations. Records of doctors, churches, courts, hospitals, even old gravestones with frank statements of suicides and diseases, have been laboriously searched for clues to insanity. Over 3,000 deaths from diseases of the central nervous system were found, and over 1,000 had been in a State hospital for mental disease. For fifteen years the investigation continued, obtaining a clear picture of the prevalence of insanity through several generations in this homogeneous community. The result showed that environment rather than heredity is a great cause of insanity. Of the thou-

sand who have been in a State hospital for mental disease only 18 per cent. were descended from insane parents and only 37 per cent. had insane relatives.

MYTHS ABOUT BRIGHT CHILDREN

A multitude of superstitions about the brightness of children has grown up through the ages. One of the most prevalent of these is that the oldest child in the family is the most intelligent. You will also hear repeated often the idea that young parents have brighter children than those parents who wait until later in life to rear their families. Professor L. L. Thurstone has been attempting to obtain insight from reliable data upon these questions. To a recent meeting of psychiatric organizations, he presented a preliminary report of investigations in progress at the Institute for Juvenile Research. A study of 150 problem children shows that those born of younger parents rate about the same in intelligence as those born of older parents. Within the same family the second child born tends to be slightly brighter than the first, the third is brighter than the second, and this is equally true among the American and foreign-born parents. It is sometimes said that when children come close together in age there may be a disadvantage to a child following close to the preceding one, but, to Professor Thurstone's astonishment, he found that children one year apart seem to be as bright as those two or three years apart. The study will be extended until 10,000 children have been classified.

QUACK PSYCHOLOGISTS

A new sort of bad fairy is abroad in the land. Pseudo-psychologists who promise to turn every-day human beings into fascinating personalities or into great financial successes are creating large groups of discontented individuals. According to Dr. E. A. Shaw and George E. Gardner of the Harvard University psycho-educational clinic, "character analysis" and "practical psychologists" are responsible for many of the dissatisfied, badly adjusted cases that come to the Harvard clinic. Gilt-edge promises made to all, irrespective of ability and training, lead individuals to false hopes and discontent with kinds of work for which they are suited. And repeated failures to attain the heights so glowingly described as well within reach can lead an individual to serious mental upsets. The psychological quack, half informed concerning scientific psychological principles, undertakes in a

conference or by lectures, and for no small fee, to advise men and women about their mental and vocational ills. "These men, we maintain—and their numbers are growing day by day—are a detriment to the mental health of the community," the psychologists state. "In their doctrines and platitudes there is just enough of truth and of falsity to make them dangerous." One serious result of the situation is that the work of the "analysts" becomes confused in the eyes of the public with the work of well-trained vocational advisers and directors of personality clinics who do their work conscientiously and carefully.

EDUCATING CHILDREN IN SCIENCE

"Wanted—a scientist of the first order, if necessary of senior standing, but as young as possible, with a knowledge of the theory of science, to investigate and conduct the introduction of young children, 4½-10, to science and scientific method." This is not a peep into the notebook of a modern novelist planning another version of an ultra-scientific Utopia but an actual bona fide advertisement that has appeared in leading periodicals and newspapers of Great Britain. Through it prominent educators hope to hit a decisive blow on the head of the weak nail in the top-heavy structure of modern education. The directors of the Malting House School at Cambridge are convinced that the active interest of early childhood loses its keen edge after a few years spent under instruction according to present educational methods. They believe that "the emotional and intellectual drives, usually grouped together in the term curiosity, exist in the early lives of most people, and that their striking loss in later years, rendering many born with good brains intellectually ineffective and tired of life, is due to some large extent to laming by early influences. The most consciously held aim of the educator should therefore be to avoid damaging these drives, and lest his life should pass in loading ships with ballast, to rank that aim before that of the installation of knowledge—particularly in the early years when relatively little knowledge can be instilled and great damage done."

Preliminary work with children of faculty members of Cambridge University at Malting House School has been sufficiently successful to encourage the directors to further its development. "At present," they state, "there is no recognized, infallible or easily applied technique for the preservation of curiosity during education, and it is not least for the investigation of this one of

the social problems of the age, that the directors hope to make of the appointment advertised the beginnings of a research institute. Nevertheless they believe that the learning of how to learn and a scientific scrutiny of familiar things, an attitude of critical curiosity and intellectual aggression to the unknown, requires to be preceded by the discovery of the idea of discovery."

TRANSOCEANIC AVIATION

Now that aviation has taken one of those spurts forward which is characteristic of the progress of modern science, now that airplanes are flying from continent to continent with fair chances of safe arrivals, the question of the future of commercial transoceanic airplane lines is being generally discussed. What must come before the daring experimental hops across the Atlantic and Pacific are transformed into a regular passenger, express and mail service so safe and reliable that you and I will patronize them? To the developments of aviation that have come so speedily since the Wrights' first flight at Kitty Hawk, there must be added: Landing fields on artificial floating islands anchored far at sea; multi-engined seaplanes of large carrying power; seaplanes whose hulls will withstand the buffeting of a severe storm when forced down to the ocean's surface; improved weather forecasting and reporting. When the sea lanes are dotted with floating emergency landing fields; when flying from New York to Paris is as common as the aerial journey from London to Paris, then spending the weekend in Europe may become practicable as well as fashionable.

Engineers and air enthusiasts in the United States and other countries, who have been inventing and planning landing fields in the sea, are no longer looked upon as dreamers or worse. Transoceanic aeronautics is ready for seadromes, aviation experts believe. They visualize floating fields at intervals of four or five hundred miles, lighted at night, strung together by route buoys and light beacons and equipped with fog signals and directional radio that will make the airways safe. In this country there is now building an experimental seadrome which is expected to be anchored this Fall in the deepest water hole along the steamship lanes between North America and Europe. The British, with their far-flung colonies, are naturally interested in the construction of floating islands as stopping places on their intra-empire routes. Both the French and the Italians are also conducting experimental work and

devising plans for placing artificial islands along aerial transoceanic routes.

Because of the successful long-distance airplane flights that have been made recently, attention is now centred upon the heavier-than-air craft. It is probable, however, that airships, held aloft by hydrogen or helium gas, will play an important part in quick transportation across the Atlantic. From Germany there have been announced details of the projected Seville-Buenos Aires airship line. It is expected that the air trip will cut the travel time from Europe to South America down to three days. The new ship, the LZ-127, is to have a capacity of 105,000 cubic meters. The body, built in sixteen separate cells, has a diameter of 30.5 and a length of 235 meters. Six motors of 2,400 horsepower are to constitute the driving machinery, and sleeping accommodations for 24 passengers will be provided.

One feature, which is hailed as revolutionary in airship propulsion, is the substitution of a gaseous for the usual liquid fuel. The new combustible is a coal gas with the same specific gravity as air. It is to be carried in the hull of the ship, filling special ballonets in the lower third of the structure, while the upper two-thirds will be occupied by the lifting gas. Until the air liners are on a self-supporting basis the company will receive a subsidy from both Spain and Argentina. It is anticipated that after five years this outside aid will be no longer needed. To train the Spanish crew, the ship will make shorter flights for a year, cruising either to Rome or the Canary Islands.

AIR TRAVEL IN AMERICA

While we wait for aviation to span the ocean, it will be possible to travel by air within continental United States. This Fall any one will be able to fly from New York to San Francisco with the speed of air mail. Air liners will also fly between New York and Miami by way of Atlanta. America will then begin to rival Europe's passenger airlines just as it now excels in air mail routes. The New York-San Francisco route will be the world's longest airplane passenger line. According to preliminary estimates, the cost of transcontinental flying will be about fifteen cents a mile or less than \$400 for the 2,500-mile trip. Rail fare and Pullman for the same trip cost about \$140. The fastest rail time from coast to coast is slightly less than four days (87 to 96 hours) while the air time will be about a day and

a third (31 to 32 hours). Thus nearly three days of time will be saved by traveling by air. Other passenger air routes now operating are: Boston to New York, Cheyenne to Pueblo, Salt Lake City to Los Angeles, Seattle to Los Angeles, Detroit to Grand Rapids. The establishment of America's aerial transportation lines is due to the relinquishment by the Post Office Department of the actual operation of the air mail lines that it has so successfully established. The private air mail contractors will be able to carry passengers and express along with mail just as the railroads do now.

Good landing fields are to airplanes what good roads are to automobiles. This country is now entering a period of aviation development analogous to conditions in automobiling some twenty years ago. It is possible to fly to many large cities and find a good landing field awaiting. But other cities, even of considerable population, are lacking airport facilities. A movement is now under way to remedy this lack and the next few years will see hundreds of cities establishing municipal airports and flying fields. While the airplane travels the air and not the ground, it is necessary to lay out airways throughout the nation. Emergency landing fields must be established approximately every 25 miles along airways and for those routes that are used for night flying, these emergency fields as well as the terminal airports must be adequately lighted. Eventually, also, the air routes will be marked by radio beams which will enable a pilot to hold his plane automatically upon the air roads even if he may be flying through fog.

THE LATEST SOLAR ECLIPSE

The greatest event in an astronomer's life is a total eclipse of the sun. England had its first total solar eclipse for two centuries on June 29. On that date the moon's shadow, which always stretches out into space behind it, touched our globe, drawing a band of total eclipse of the sun through England and Scandinavia. Along the path of eclipse astronomers were scattered, eager to view this most thrilling natural phenomenon. Luckiest was Sir Frank Dyson, Astronomer Royal, who located his instruments at Giggleswick, England. It had been cloudy up until a few minutes before the time of total eclipse. Then a rift in the clouds allowed observation of the darkened sun. Gerald Merton, a British astronomer, who was a former war aviator, observed the eclipse from his own airplane,

and succeeded in rising above two layers of clouds, at 4,000 and 9,000 feet altitude. He flew to 10,000 feet and while another layer of clouds was 5,000 feet above him, he had a fair view of the phenomenon. He also observed the shadow of the moon sweeping across the clouds beneath him. At other locations in England the eclipse was visible but partially spoiled by thin clouds. The only American expedition, that of the University of Virginia, was located at Fagernes, Norway, under the direction of Dr. Samuel A. Mitchell. Since 1900 Dr. Mitchell has traveled more than 50,000 miles to witness six total eclipses of the sun. Unhappily his seventh was a failure. Clouds completely obscured the phenomenon.

Why is it that astronomers spend much time and money attending total eclipses that last only a few minutes at the most? They wish to puzzle out the mystery of the sun. Astronomers believe that the key to many solar problems lies in the corona, that beautiful pearly halo of light that is seen surrounding the sun only at times of total eclipses. Its feeble light has been traced to the enormous distance of 10,000,000 miles from the sun's surface. Yet it cannot be a true atmosphere for comets pass through it easily without friction. It seems to contain the mysterious element coronium, known only by its green spectral lines. Perhaps the eclipse observed on June 29 will bring science closer to the real meaning and cause of this solar decoration, the corona. Astronomers are also interested in the sun not only because it is the sun but because it is a typical star. Since most stars are so distant that their light takes years, even thousands of years to travel to the earth, the astronomers prize the opportunity of having a star so close at hand that light reaches the earth from it in a mere eight minutes. What can be learned about the sun can be applied to other stars.

IMPORTANT PHOTOGRAPHIC INVENTION

From France there is reported an invention which may revolutionize photographic methods. It consists in substituting cellulose, the principal constituent of wood fiber, for gelatin in the support of the sensitive silver salts that are the active portions of the photographic plate or film. The new process is the development of Philippe Davis, collaborator of A. Bertillon, the famous criminologist. In the ordinary photographic plate or film the base of glass or celluloid is coated with a layer of gelatin in which are suspended the silver bromide particles. The gelatin layer is rather

delicate, and great care must be taken with the films or plates before they are dry. Too much heat will melt the coating and spoil the picture. With the new films, gelatin and its disadvantages are eliminated. As the cellulose does not dissolve even in boiling water, the developing chemicals may be used hot to speed up the process. They may be developed in 3 to 4 minutes, fixed in 2 minutes and washed in 30 seconds, instead of the 15 to 30 minutes that the latter process now takes. Then they can be dried over a flame or in a hot oven in 2 or 3 minutes. The entire process, from the start of development to the dry negative ready for printing is over in ten minutes at the most. This is a far shorter period than can be obtained at present.

DANGEROUS COSMETICS

The doctors of the country have taken recognition, officially and professionally, of the increasing vogue of paint and powder. By resolution in their annual convention they urged laws to make beauty preparations as safe for womanhood as the foods and drugs now regulated by the Pure Food and Drugs act. Not that doctors, officially at least, approve the use of lipstick, rouge and other beauty aids, for many physicians consider cosmetics as merely camouflage of poor health. The medical attack on beauty preparations is being made to protect both the public's health and pocketbook. Many cosmetics are actually dangerous. Some of them contain corrosive sublimate or some other compounds of poisonous mercury. Freckle and blemish removers, hair dyes and other preparations are likely to contain this poison. Superfluous hair removers are condemned on the ground that any compound that removes hair will also damage the skin. Barium sulphide is the active constituent of most depilatories. Moreover, it has been pointed out that in many cases where beauty preparations were claimed to have been originated by famous physicians they were prescribed for diseased instead of healthy skin. In addition to being fraudulent in their medical claims, most beauty preparations are manufactured and sold at exorbitant profits of many thousand per cent. One preparation advertised as a skin beautifier sold for \$2.72 a pound. It consisted of epsom salts, a pound of which can be bought at any drug store for about 15 cents. To remedy such practices and obtain a plain statement of contents on each package, the physicians are urging national and State legislation regulating the manufacture, sale and use of beauty preparations.

The Basutos' Rise From African Savagery

By DANIEL R. MAUE

TUCKED away in the Quathlamba, or Drakensberg, Mountains paralleling the east coast of South Africa is a small, oval-shaped territory shown only on large-scale maps. In the language of the natives it is Lesuto (Lesotho); on detailed maps and in the annals of the British Colonial Office it appears as Basutoland; travelers returning from the country term it the "Switzerland of South Africa." Study of the physical characteristics, history, politics and people of the country discloses more than scenic justification for this description.

Basutoland, for this is the most widely known name, measures from 150 miles by 50 to 100 miles, and is but 10,293 square miles in area—that is, slightly larger than the State of Vermont. It is bounded by Cape Colony, by Natal and by the Orange Free State, through which it is most easily approached. Broadly speaking, it is a plateau 5,700 feet in altitude; strictly speaking, it is a rough country, picturesque with mountains rising to 10,500 feet, fertile, well-watered valleys, clear springs, sparkling streams leaping to form falls from dizzy heights and an almost utter absence of trees. The soil is well cultivated and highly productive of wheat, millet and mealies, earning for Basutoland distinction as one of the best grain-growing regions of all Southern Africa. The country does not abound in wild animal life, as do many other sections of the African Continent. Baboons and hawks dwell in the mountains. The eland, hartebeest, antelope, leopard and jackal confine themselves to plain or hill. The pastoral inhabitants, however, have little to fear from the preying of animals upon flocks. Locusts, considered a delicacy by the natives, often make visitations in swarms.

Of prime interest in a consideration of Basutoland is the climate. The Summers, with a mean temperature average of about 60 degrees, are delightfully cool, while the Winters are often extremely cold. Sir Godfrey Lagden, long a Resident Commissioner of Basutoland, recommends the climate as one of the most healthful in the world.

The Bushmen, so it is believed, were the first inhabitants of South Africa, where they had migrated from the central regions of the continent. There is evidence substantiating their origin and migration, but it is not conclusive. These small yellow people are regarded as the lowest type of men and have become practically extinct. Until a comparatively recent date they were hunted down and exterminated, almost as wild animals, by the Hottentots and savage tribes overflowing Southern Africa. Few traces of them now remain except colorful paintings imposed upon stones and cliffs, their one claim to anything in the nature of cultural accomplishment. It is probable that the Hottentot followed the Bushmen southward from Central Africa, but here again the evidence is not conclusive. Though the members of this larger, darker race proved to be more adaptable to climate and environment, their identity, too, is nearly gone. The northern and central parts of the Dark Continent gave origin to another people—the Basuto themselves. There is great difficulty in tracing the history of this remarkable nation of men, for even at the beginning of the nineteenth century they had no records of any kind and no written language. Ethnologists of the past century have devoted long years to acquiring fragmentary records of Lesuto ancestry. Missionaries, patient folk and few in number, eventually pieced together from the rambling tales told by old tribesmen some semblance of a connected history.

The Basuto is of the Bantu race. Though no exact date can be given for the southward movement of this people, it undoubtedly took place at least 325 years ago and left its numbers well distributed over all South Africa. The Hottentots and the few remaining Bushmen were speedily overcome. The more warlike of the Bantus rapidly spread to the eastward and became divided into clans. One division of the Bechuana family, or clan, included various tribes—the Barolang, Bakwena, Batlapin, Bahurutsi, Bamangwato, Banagwakelsi, Bavenda, Bakalanga and Basuto. Of these the Bakwena ("People of the Crocodile") was

the predominating family, and to it the Basuto proper ascribes himself. This genealogy is, perhaps, uninteresting and unintelligible; it is given to illustrate the ethnological difficulties encountered. For present purposes it is sufficient to say that the Basutos are a branch of the Bechuana family of Bantu-Negroids, intermixed with a few Barolang and other Kaffirs. Their complicated family tree explains the great variation in coloring, build and features found today among the tribes.

The population of Basutoland is large and dense when it is remembered that the mountain ranges are almost uninhabitable. The census of 1921 lists 497,696 natives, 1,615 whites and 1,100 of other colored races. In 1875 the population of the plateau was estimated at 128,000, suggesting a remarkable increase for the twenty-five-year period. Maseru, on the Caledon, is the seat of Government and the largest city, its population being 2,319, including 400 Europeans. Mafeteng, in the northwest, and Butha Buthe are agricultural centres. Thaba Bosigo, an almost inaccessible hill of rock, is a historic stronghold of the country. The country being extremely fertile, the Basuto is essentially an agriculturist. On the mountain slopes and flat-topped hills graze sheep, cattle, goats and herds of ponies, noted for

great hardiness. There are no manufactures, and minerals, if such exist, are not worked, this being strictly in accordance with the wishes of the people. The exports are chiefly wheat, mealies, Kaffir corn, wool, mohair, horses and cattle. Imports are largely textiles. Trade is with the Orange Free State and the Cape of Good Hope.

In tracing the political and social history of Basutoland there is no need to go back beyond the opening of the nineteenth century, when no spirit of unity as yet bound the many native tribes into anything resembling a compact nation and when there comes on the scene the greatest of all Basuto characters if not the greatest colored leader of the age, Moshesh. This Washington of the Basutos was a descendant of the Monaheng family, which was given some recognition as ruling blood. Born during the early nineties of the eighteenth century, he gave promise early in life of possessing great ability in leadership. At the death of Mokachane, the father, Moshesh (Mosheshwe, the "shaver" or "leveler") was recognized around 1829 as paramount ruler of the few loosely united tribes then known as Basuto. Beginning his remarkable career by avoiding the cruel and tyrannical conduct characteristic of the native chiefs, he suggested reforms in the method of govern-



Map of South Africa, showing the position of Basutoland and its capital, Maseru



Thaba Bosiu, the mountain stronghold of Moshesh. (From a painting by F. H. Dutton)

ment, and in 1833 invited missionaries of the Evangelical Mission Society of Paris to settle in Basutoland. They soon established a school, to which Moshesh sent his sons. Throughout the long years of his reign he displayed a desire to promote the progress and civilization of his people, despite the intense opposition natural to their backward and unsettled condition. To Moshesh belongs most of the credit for the welding of the tribes into a compact nation, for his generalship early recognized the fact that by sparing his enemies and protecting all who came to him he would gain faithful followers. Nor was he lacking in diplomatic ability equal to that of the Europeans with whom he came into contact.

Indirectly Moshesh owed some of his success in uniting his people to the Zulu warrior and chief, Tshaka (Chaka), and to Moselekatse, founder of the Matebele nation, for it was the ravaging

expedition of these two ruthless leaders which eliminated from Southern Africa bands of invaders who otherwise might have crushed the Basuto. The young chief had withdrawn his slender forces to the inaccessible stronghold on Thaba Bosigo, from which vantage point he was able to command the respect of Tshaka and Moselekatse, or he, too, might have been forced to flee the plateau country. By 1832 the power and independence of Moshesh was established and recognized by his native enemies.

With the arrival of European missionaries in 1833-34 was sounded the new note of civilization which was to change the history of the Basuto. In the Great Trek of 1836-37, Boer farmers settled north of the Orange River and approached the domain of Moshesh. The descendants of the Bechuana family, unfriendly to these new neighbors, conducted

themselves in such a manner as speedily to earn a reputation as cattle thieves and raiders. Territorial disputes arose, and the Basuto notoriety as "bad neighbors" was undoubtedly not without foundation; yet it must in justice be re-



A Ketane River gorge, Basutoland

membered that the natives were no more eager for cattle as food, after the lean years of battling against Zulu and Matebele invasion than the Boer settlers were eager for land. By 1842 the Boer-Basuto situation had become so acute that Sir George Napier, Governor of Cape Colony, felt called upon to forbid further encroachment upon Basuto territory. In 1843 a treaty was negotiated with Moshesh whereby Basutoland was recognized as a native State under British protection. Sir Harry Smith in 1848 proclaimed British sovereignty over the Orange River regions, but this in no wise affected the continuation of quarrels and boundary disputes between Basuto and Boer and Basuto and other native tribes.

Finally, in 1851, British authorities in South Africa decided to intervene in the tribal disputes, and Major Warden, with a comparatively small force of British and native troops, marched against the Basutos. These mixed forces were defeated by the soldiers of Moshesh, who followed up their victory with an orgy of raiding and plundering. An attempt to reach a settlement was made, but though the justice of the complaints of the Basuto chieftain was recognized, no satisfactory agreement resulted. In 1852 Sir George Cathcart, successor to Governor Sir Harry Smith, more determined than his predecessor to subdue the followers of Moshesh, dispatched three small divisions into the interior. This second attempt was



Moshesh in 1854



Moshesh in 1833

only slightly more fortunate than the first, but it enabled Moshesh to see that he could not long hold out against the British. A declaration of peace followed. In a letter of capitulation the native diplomat characteristically said: "As the object for which you came is to have compensation for Boers, I beg you will be satisfied with what you have taken. You have shown your power, you have chastised; I will try all I can to keep my people in order in the future."

When, in 1854, Great Britain renounced sovereignty over farmers beyond the Orange, Moshesh found himself face to face with the new Free State. Disputes and petty warfare were resumed, but through the energies of Sir George Gray, then Governor of Cape Colony, disastrous results were averted. By 1865, however, difficulties between the Orange Free State and the Basuto Nation were again at a climax. Governor Sir Phillip Wodehouse made no move to intervene, and the Boers had taken several Basuto strongholds and much fertile territory before Moshesh, by the Treaty of Thaba Bosigo, relinquished title to the lands and professed himself subject to the Free State. The Boer occupation becoming intolerable to the natives, their leader, in



Twenty thousand Basutos at meeting with Sir Alfred Milner, 1896

1868, applied to Great Britain for annexation, and the white farmers were asked to leave the country. A temporary treaty of 1869 settled boundary questions, and in 1871 the British formally annexed Basutoland to Cape Colony, but not before death had ended the vigorous sway of Moshesh.

A weak son, Letsie, succeeded to the native throne. In 1879 a sub-chief, Molrosi, repudiated colonial rule, but to no effect. Internal strife in Basutoland arose shortly after the death of Moshesh and caused the Cape Government to extend the Peace Preservation act of 1878, providing for disarmament of the natives, but this only succeeded in bringing on another small war. Peace was reached in 1882. In 1883 self-government for the Basutos was established, bringing more internal strife. At this crisis an appeal was made to the Imperial Government in London to take over the country. Masupha, an uncle to whom Letsie had transferred many native affairs, led the opposition to such a move, and there was much argumentation between Colonial Office officials as to the advisability of such proceedings. In 1884, however, Basutoland became a British Crown colony. Of the Basuto statesmen little more need be said. Lerothodi, successor to the weak Letsie, distinguished himself in war with the Boers in 1880 and took an active part in the revolt

against the Cape Government. At the time of his death, in 1905, he had proved himself a diplomatic and fearless, if arbitrary, ruler. Of passionate disposition, it cannot be said of him that he was either revengeful or cruel. Another Letsie became paramount chief for a comparatively quiet period of eight years, being succeeded at death by Griffith, a brother, who holds the chieftaincy at the present time.

To their form of government and to the sovereignty of Great Britain the Basutos have remained loyal. During the Boer crisis of 1899 the chiefs gave expression of their allegiance to Queen Victoria and were quiet and neutral. Shortly after the outbreak of the World War the Basuto National Council voted a small sum of money in support of the mother country, and later raised a contingent of 1,400 men for overseas duty. The annual reports of the Resident High Commissioners for the years of the twentieth century tell of small boundary quarrels between chiefs within the nation, but these are considered as of no political importance or as showing a "state of unrest" among the natives. However anxious Great Britain may have been to annex the fertile lands of the Basuto, whether or not altruism prompted the taking over of the native State, facts and figures show that the Basuto has prospered and taken a place in con-

temporary civilization since his territories were added to the British Commonwealth of Nations. Freed from the ever-present menace of Boer aggression and Zulu and other native ravaging, the descendants and followers of Moshesh have proved themselves willing students of modern ways and customs. Great Britain does not attempt to force civilization down the throats of the colored people; rather, she allows native laws and tribal customs to exist until they become outgrown, when the process of absorption sets in of its own accord.

The High Commissioner of South Africa is Governor of the Crown Colony of Basutoland. He has legislative power exercised by proclamation. The State is administered under the direction of the Governor by the Resident Commissioner, who is also Chief Judicial Officer. Under the British officials are the hereditary chiefs, headed by the Paramount Chieftain. The people have a voice in governmental affairs through the National Council (Pitso), composed of representatives from all the tribes. This council meets yearly for the discussion of public affairs. That this body is thoroughly alive to the issues of present-day needs is evident from the minutes of the thirteenth annual meeting, held in 1917-18, when better methods of collecting the hut tax were adopted and an overwhelming majority voted to suppress native beer shops. State revenues are obtained from a hut tax of £1, from licenses issued to traders, from customs and from Post Office receipts. The revenues for 1901-2 were £104,284, the expenditures £64,809. Revenues and expenditures for 1919-20 were £199,885 and £202,441, respectively; for 1920-21, £226,323 and £252,953. Each year since 1900 has shown some increase in these two items. Basutoland has no public debt.

Social conditions in the land are higher in standard than in the majority of the South African native States. Many of the people have professed Christianity, the great Moshesh himself having set an example in the matter of religion. European clothing has been adopted. Little real crime is committed and deliberate murder is unknown. A new era for the country began in 1904 with the establishment of Naledi ea Lesotha (Star of Basutoland), the

first independent newspaper. A State-owned railroad, sixteen and one-half miles long and connected with the Bloemfontein-Moddespoort line, has been constructed as an outlet. This short line would seem ridiculous were it not for the fact that Basutoland is not adapted physically to railroad construction. Highroads, the more essential paths of traffic, are constructed and maintained in all sections by State funds. Complete postal and telegraphic service has been installed, while telephones are rapidly being introduced.

Missionary schools carry on most of the educational work. There are at present about 400 elementary native schools, most of them receiving Government grants for upkeep. The average daily attendance in schools and institutions in 1920 was over 25,000, with more than 32,500 carried on the rolls. In 1915 the rolls numbered 22,400, the present attendance showing therefore a remarkable gain. Each year Government grants for educational purposes have become larger, until in 1918-19 the aid reached £17,700. By way of contrast it should be noted that the Protectorate of Bechuanaland, twenty times larger than Basutoland, in 1917-18 made a grant for school purposes of only £1,345. A large proportion of the Basutos already read and write Lesuto and English and speak the Dutch language. In addition to the more rudimentary instruction afforded by the elementary schools, a Government industrial school at Maseru and one conducted by the Paris Missionary Society at Leloaleng now offer valuable training. The Basuto Government also contributes to the maintenance of skilled agriculturists, a State veterinarian, a Government stud, a department of public works, a



Basuto boys



Morija training institution for Basutos

constabulary and a medical staff. Imports in 1920 amounted to £1,219,388 and exports to £937,038. In 1900 exports totaled little over £125,000. In addition to the textiles imported, a demand for blankets, plows, iron and tinware, and groceries is springing up. These articles are for native consumption, as European settlement on the plateau is practically forbidden.

Such is the story of Basutoland. From warlike tribes of natives knowing nothing of the spirit of unity, Moshesh, in a lifetime, produced a nation; from a horde of uncivilized colored men and women has sprung a people, independent, capable of self-government, and worthy of the respect and admiration of the most highly civilized na-

tions of the world. Whether or not the little State is to suffer from the results of overpopulation, as so many of the European and Asiatic countries have done; whether or not it is to become the victim of modern economic forces, which it has so far escaped, the future alone can tell. Owing to the isolation of the plateau and the climatic conditions, chances are in favor of the Basuto and against foreign exploitation. Basutoland can be held before the eyes of miserable Liberia, of American societies which would establish an African republic for the colored races, and of the great savage hinterland of all Africa, as a model example of native government in Africa.



Ancient Splendors That Remain in the East Today

By EDWARD J. BING

OXFORD SCHOLAR IN ORIENTAL LANGUAGES; FORMER TURKISH OFFICIAL; EUROPEAN CORRESPONDENT OF THE UNITED PRESS

A VOYAGE from Asia Minor to Syria furnishes some of the striking contrasts in which the Near East today is so rich. We recall the treasure mountain in the story of "Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves," which fascinated our imagination in the days of our youth, as we cross the Cilician Gate, connecting the Taurus Mountains with the coastal plain which stretches along the southern shore of Asia Minor. That mountain, opening at the magic word, allowed Ali Baba to penetrate the secret treasure house of the Forty Thieves. He who travels through Asia Minor on his way to Syria will see that that recollection of childhood, originating from the mysterious Near East, has almost come true on the very spot whence it started on its march to conquer Western imagination.

Just as Ali Baba is dumfounded with the change from an unfriendly rock into a blaze of splendor, so do we undergo the same experience on crossing the Cilician Gate. But a few minutes ago we were surrounded by the lofty, bald mountain rocks of the Taurus, inhospitably withholding their slopes from nature, which is vainly trying to adorn them with vegetation. Our car slides along the narrow road hewn out of the rocks, which now close in upon us, allowing hardly sufficient room to pass. We emerge from the narrow and enormously high walls, and just as if some conjurer of the Arabian Nights would have touched the rock with his wand, our eyes behold a scene which forms a glaring contrast to our surroundings of but a few minutes ago. Before us stretches the plain, dotted with palms and olive trees, and beyond the blue Mediterranean, bathed in subtropical sunshine. The impression is so overwhelming that it takes us time to recollect that we just passed one of the most remarkable historic feats of mankind. The Cilician Gate owes its existence to Alexander the Great, whose army, with the primitive implements of the period, hewed that opening in the rocks, and commem-

orated the accomplishment by a still extant relief sculptured on one of the walls of the artificial defile. The Cilician Gate is truly one of the everlasting creations of the great Macedonian conqueror, an achievement from which mankind benefits to the present day, for the path remains as the only passage through the rocks of the Taurus, constructed with such efficiency that, although entirely in its original condition, it is the only road over which heavy motor trucks of our century can pass.

If, on passing the Cilician Gate, we experienced an almost miraculous change from a typical mountain scenery to its very opposite, a similar surprise awaits us as we reach the imaginary line running horizontally through the village of Islahie and the Port of Alexandretta. Again our experience is connected with vivid traces left by Alexander. This time the sudden change is of an ethnographic nature. Up to Islahie we heard Turkish spoken everywhere and encountered Turkish habits, Turkish dress and Turkish mentality. With dramatic suddenness we are now aware of an altogether different world. Our ears are struck by the guttural tones of Arabic, and, just as if the different villages to the north and south of Islahie were hundreds of miles apart, the costumes, manners, traditions and spirit are entirely Arabian. The spirit of the great conqueror of ancient times follows us throughout our journey. Islahie was known to his time by the name of Issos, and was the theatre of his sweeping victory over Darius. The only reminder of that event, which changed the face of the civilized world for many centuries thereafter, is the exquisite mosaic floor of what must have once been a public building erected by Alexander's troops. It shows a large human head, undoubtedly the portrait of the great conqueror or one of his Generals. Although still in excellent condition, it may soon yield to the ravages of the elements unless taken care of by science.

The skyline of a wonderful citadel ap-

pears on the horizon. It rises from an artificial hill about 450 feet high, and is made inaccessible by a deep moat. The hill is paved with large blocks of rock, making its ascent next to impossible. There is one of the most striking specimens of Arabic architecture: the famous forts of Aleppo, vainly besieged by the Crusaders and conquered by the Seldjuk Turks only through treason. Once the seat of Seifed-Dowlah, the powerful ruler of Northern Syria about 1000 A. D., it still retains command over the city of a half million inhabitants, but is now only a gorgeous monument of past grandeur. Hundreds of iron balls scattered about its interior tell a vivid tale of medieval struggles, before the balls of the sling and the catapult had been replaced by the shells of the modern siege guns.

The silhouette of dainty cupolas and a number of nut pines are discernible in the distance. They belong to the monastery of Sheikh-u-Bakr, a striking reminder of the Arabian Nights and thoroughly characteristic of a city which has retained its original stamp through twelve centuries.

The busy streets of Aleppo sport a mixture of the most heterogeneous races and types, and the gay colors of the men's garb, the monotonous black of the women's robes, the flat-roofed white houses, which almost hurt our eyes as they reflect the blazing light of the sun, unite into a picture worthy of the brush of a master in impressionistic painting. "Haleb-esh-Sheheba" ("Aleppo, the Whitish"), has conserved its Oriental character much more than Damascus, where water pipes, electric lighting and street cars represent Western spirit at the expense of Oriental charm. There are parts of Aleppo, like the Mashurka quarter, where even now a European is almost never seen, and the bazaar of the city, though not as large as the one at Damascus, looks just as it did a thousand years ago. Just as the public life, the dress, the habits and the mentality of its inhabitants have remained almost unchanged since the victorious entry of Omar's warriors, so have most of the private homes retained their original structure. The house of the Oriental is like his soul: hardly accessible, and surrounded by a high wall on the outside, but endowed with the beauty and rich splendor of an ancient culture for him who succeeds in entering the well-guarded gate. The streets of the Mohammedan quarter are generally flanked by massive walls without a single

window, which hide the life of the inmates completely from the curiosity of the wayfarer; but the interior of the house of the average wealthy Syrian is a revelation of taste and beauty.

The sun has disappeared. The inhabitants of the city, who held the usual Keff, or midday rest, during the hours of intense heat, when work of any description is impossible, now leave their homes to enjoy the coolness of the evening. Within an hour or so the spacious Shehbender, the city park, is filled with a turbaned throng. Townsmen in their wide robes; Persian merchants in long black frock coats and tall caps; Bedouins and Fellaheen, wearing the Hattaata; Kurdish carriers—all the picturesque types of the Near East congregate on the brilliant promenade. Sipping their customary coffee from small cups, or smoking the water-pipe, they listen in complete silence to Sarina, a beautiful, dark-haired, slender Jewess, whose singing voice has earned for her the title of "the nightingale of Syria." On the primitive stage erected at the other end of the garden one of the most highly cherished dramas of Arab literature, the romantic story of "Djaleddin Ayube," is given by a famous troupe of Egyptian performers, with an artistic ability as accomplished as their technical equipment is primitive.

THE HOUSE OF ANANIAS

A treasure house of relics and monuments, sacred to Christian and Moslem alike, is Damascus, a rich oasis in the Syrian desert, abundant in water and vegetation, and emerging from the bare plains like a huge emerald. The house of Ananias is of biblical fame, situated in the heart of the Christian quarter. The subterranean chamber that is believed to have housed Ananias is about nine feet square, with a ceiling of primitively hewn rock; it has been turned into a chapel and is visited chiefly by tourists.

The pride of the Moslem world is the mosque of the Omayyads. It was erected by that famous dynasty of Caliphs and rebuilt after its destruction by fire on the occasion of the conquest of Damascus by the Mongol hordes of Tamerlane. It was then that the once famous craft of Damascus swordmakers came to a tragic end, and never since has Damascus produced its famous sword blade, once the most treasured arm of the Oriental warrior. The mosque of the Omayyad is a typical specimen of Arab religious architecture, and

differs from the Turkish mosques by the absence of the big central cupola. A huge oblong-shaped building, with an open court and quadrangular minarets, its plain exterior is likely to mislead the visitor, who, once within the precincts of the sanctuary, stands dumfounded with an overwhelming impression of splendor. The halls surrounding the court are of such vast dimensions that they hold several chapels of the daintiest structure, which in themselves are large enough to be temples. The floor is covered throughout with the most luxurious carpets. Thousands of believers fill the mosque on Fridays.

Not far from this gem of Arabian art is the tomb of Sultan Saladin, of whose glory but a simple sarcophagus tells. Under it rest the remains of the man whose armies swept across the valleys and mountain slopes of the Lebanon in pursuit of the Crusaders.

Palm-covered, sun-bathed valleys, separating unnumbered mountains fabulously rich in vegetation and dotted with dainty, scrupulously clean villages, stretch before us as we drive along the serpentine path ascending the mountain pass of Ain Sofar. These were the haunts of the charming fairies of "A Midsummer Night's Dream"; here is where Oberon and Titania held court. As we reach the highest point of the pass we behold a spectacle unique in splendid contrasts. The majestic snow-covered peak of the Hermon, the summit of the Anti-Lebanon chain, rises from the clouds. Sinister fortresses, built by Christian knights fighting for the faith far from home, crown several of the adjacent hills and rocks. The fertile Bakaa Valley separates the chains of the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, providing its inhabitants with the various products of an unrivaled vegetation. We turn toward the west, and there, in the haze of an Eastern Summer day, lies before us the harbor of Beirut, beyond the beautiful resorts of Ain Sofar, Alleih, Brumana and numerous villages decorating the slopes of the Lebanon. The rich part is the seat of the Syrian Protestant College, a model institution and the torch-bearer of American civilization in the Orient.

As we pass through the ever-changing scenes of present-day life in Asia Minor and Syria we are constantly reminded of a wonderful world which lies underneath these pictures of the present. Everywhere the vast country bears landmarks of 6,000 years of human history. Arrived on Asiatic soil from European Turkey, we

need but a day's march to take us from Tchanak to the ruins of Troy. On the dusty roads we meet ox-drawn carts of pre-historic shape, the type of their massive, spokeless wheels dating back to times more remote than the period of Egyptian and Babylonian war chariots. Our way is crossed by long strings of freight camels, covering mile after mile with a characteristic gait which conveys the impression of fatigue, and yet is more enduring than that of any other animal. Soon we find ourselves on the hills of Troy, and looking down upon the plains which saw the combat of Achilles and Hector.

THE RUINS OF TROY

More than ten cities were built upon each other on this site during the millenniums of its history. The ruins of Troy, however, are chiefly of archaeological interest today, as they consist only of a number of walls of widely separated historical periods. The notorious "North-South" shaft, broken into the different walls by Schliemann in his ruthless, though successful, search for what is known today as the Treasure of Priamus, did much damage to these venerable remains, but we can still discern between the pre-historic fortifications of the city, the Mykenian, that is, the genuine "Trojan Wall," and the later Roman structure. Besides the foundations of some buildings, evidently of Roman origin, the only object that may be said to be preserved is a Roman well, originally situated in the northern wall of Troy and very likely in the place of the well of Homeric fame, where the old men of the besieged city beheld the beauty of Helen, agreeing that it was well worth while to wage war for the sake of so beautiful a woman.

A much more complete picture of ancient, though later, life is furnished by the ruins of Ephesus, situated near the Turkish village of Ayasoluk, about a day's travel from Smyrna. Enough of this city is left to give us an impressive picture of its highly cultured life. The perfect marble pavement of its thoroughfares, the stage and audience of the amphitheatre, the library, the Temple of Claudius, are comparatively well preserved, while the Door of Persecution is in excellent condition. Of the celebrated Temple of Diana, once one of the Seven Wonders of the World, nothing remains except a small pile of stones, but the walls and powerful wings of one of the most ancient Christian basilicas are still prominent among the ruins. In its



A well-preserved street in Ephesus, paved with slabs of marble

centre there is still the baptismal font of spotless white marble, about six feet in diameter and only slightly damaged. The ruins of the Selim Mosque, a beautiful example of the art of the Seldjuk Turks, are in the immediate neighborhood.

Ephesus, once by the sea, but now situated several miles inland through the gradual recession of the ocean, was but one of the Greek cities which flourished on both sides of the Meander River. This part of Asia Minor is adorned by quite a number of often wonderfully well preserved ruins, among which Pryenae, Dodona and Sardes are the most notable. Considerable parts of Pryenae have entirely escaped the ravages which time and again befell this land, stained with the blood of uncounted generations. The ancient Greco-Roman Theatre is unique for its condition. One can, in fact, conceive the possibility of staging a classical Greek tragedy in it even now, for the stage as well as the semi-circular rows of marble-covered seats, with

the arm seats for the notables in the front row, are still intact. Another splendidly preserved building is the Gymnasium, still sporting the marble basins used by the athletes.

The oracle of Dodona, the classical counterpart and greatest rival of Delphi, has never seen the completion of its Temple of Jupiter. That edifice, as shown by the size of some of the columns that have stood to this day, had been planned on such colossal dimensions that even the enterprising architects of the period were unable to carry it out. In the centre of the uncompleted temple is still to be seen the original crevice above which stood the tripod whereon sat the priestess who, in a trance produced by the inhalation of the vapor rising from the crevice, uttered the incoherent words from which the prophecies were concocted.

A characteristic and amusing illustration of the mentality of the present-day inhabitants of that region, who, unlike their classical predecessors, are imbued with a spirit originating from the far-away stretches of the Near and Middle East, was furnished by the conversation I had with the head of a village in the neighborhood. The villagers had

built a primitive wooden bridge across a rivulet running through their territory, and my surprise was genuine when I saw that the bridge had but one railing. I asked the venerable old man in charge of the destinies of his community why one of the railings was missing. "It is not missing, O stranger," he said. "We do not need more than one; for there is nobody in this whole country who would have arms long enough to hold both railings at the same time, and he who indulges in drink should better stay at home."

The architecture of early Christianity is strikingly represented by the ruins Kalaa Simaan, about half way between Aleppo and Alexandretta. Here we behold the wonderfully preserved remains of one of the oldest Christian churches in history. Powerful walls, lofty arches, slender columns and massive doorways give a unique combination of power and delicate sense of art. The unique landmark of the whole field of ruins which stretches over a vast

area is a column connected in Christian history with the name of Simeon Stylites, who, for the glory of God, inflicted upon himself the torture of living on top of that column for years, the food being lifted up to him. He lent his name to the entire town, the remains of which are still known as Simeon's Fortress.

A counterpart of this ruin-city, deserving comparison with it for its singular combination of Greco-Roman and Oriental elements of architecture, is Palmyra, once the majestic capital of Queen Zenobia, whose glory passed away under the conquering sword of Emperor Aurelian. It is now so many wonderful ruins known by the name of Tudmur. It is about two days' ride by automobile to the southeast of Homs, in Syria—the Emesa of the ancients. The traveler who penetrates there through a region inhabited by Bedouin tribes is amazed at the splendor of its one-mile-long colonnade. The columns of Palmyra are the only known classical instance of a combination of the sculpture of human forms with the typical character of the column. There can be little doubt that the columns of medieval cathedrals in Europe, carried out on the same principle, can be traced back to the ingenuity of the artists who erected this jewel of the desert.

There is a number of excellently preserved Greco-Roman ruins in the neighborhood of the upper Euphrates. One of these long-deserted cities is situated on the bank of that river, directly to the east of Aleppo. Access to it is very difficult, owing to the Bedouins of the neighborhood. No doubt, like several of its counterparts in that area, even its name is unknown to archaeology, let alone the splendid architecture of its colonnades and temples. Hardly have any of the conquering hordes which swept through the Near East during the thousands of years of its history been able to penetrate into this forlorn expanse of desert. Since the downfall of Roman domination Bedouin tribes have had the territory under effective control. This accounts for the fact that some of these overwhelming remnants of the classical era are just as inaccessible as they are unexplored.

While many of the ruin-cities of Asia

Minor and Syria impress rather by the vastness of their territory, the ruins of Baalbek—the ancient Heliopolis—to the north of and half way between Damascus and Beirut, contain what are probably the most completely preserved specimens of classical temples. The sanctuary of Bacchus has hardly been touched by the events of history, and is at the same time one of the most admirable examples of its kind. Surrounded by columns, most of which are still erect, its entrance is framed by reliefs of astounding beauty. So well preserved is this temple that from a distance an observer would hardly detect that it is a ruin.

REMAINS OF TEMPLE OF JUPITER

Of the once vast Temple of Jupiter only six columns stand. Without their foundation and base, more than six feet high, and without the capital—of similar height—and the architrave, they measure about seventy-four feet. The remains of the octagonal court and the entire site of the temple—once the pride of the Antonine Emperors—as well as what is left of an early Christian basilica, give us an idea of the unheard-of splendor of Heliopolis. A beautiful little circular Temple of Venus, with its dainty columns and niches, is practically in the same condition as it was at the time of its completion.

A highly illustrative insight into the methods of construction in the different periods of history is furnished by the temple wall, which later became a part of an Arab citadel. The lower part of the wall, composed of roughly hewn blocks, is of Phoenician origin; on top of it is the perfectly smooth Roman wall, while its upper part is a wild conglomerate of stones of various size, piled up with the haste of the Arab conqueror ever ready to defend his prize. One of the greatest curiosities of Baalbek are two enormous marble blocks, each about forty feet long, twenty-six feet high and twenty feet wide, and placed in the middle of the wall, at about half of its height. It is a miracle even to the present-day engineers how these blocks were ever conveyed into their position with the implements of the time.



Scandinavian Sentiment on America

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

PROFESSOR EMERITUS, HARVARD UNIVERSITY; CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATES

SINCE the World War, the interest of the United States in the development of foreign nations has been much sharpened. We emerged from that struggle with an increased sense of the significance and permanence of the Monroe Doctrine as a policy, to be for ever free from European definition. In the two great fields of Far Eastern diplomacy, China and Japan, we have taken ground against infiltration of the United States by Orientals, and also against using armed force to control the interior policies of China, as we have always respected the interior policies of Japan. In Europe we have aided various nations, by public or private loans, and by financial counsel. We have participated in many of the conferences and international treaties on questions of finance and of personal status. To our own minds we have done a good and neighborly job.

How far is the sincere well wishing of the people of the United States for the peace, prosperity and welfare of our sister nations reciprocated by them? Travelers in European countries in which there is a press and a literature capable of expressing public sentiment do not find a spirit of love for their country, however agreeable may be the personal welcome extended to them. In the neck of the woods of Northwestern Europe, out of which for nearly fifteen hundred years poured a swarm of tough, vigorous, fightful folk, may be tested some of the effects of the World War on public sentiment toward the United States.

Sweden, Denmark and Norway together count about 11,000,000 people, as healthy, as intelligent, as prosperous and as comfortable as any people on earth. Nominally they are all governed by Kings; and they are wholesome and conscientious Kings; nevertheless, Scandinavia is in fact ruled by three democratic communities in all of which Socialist parties play an important and sometimes a preponderant part. All have sent large and welcome groups of emigrants to the United States, where in general they are noted for their willingness to accept full Americanism. The Swedish-Americans, Danish-Americans and

Norwegian-Americans are all a good kind; and they have been a desirable element of immigration for over a hundred years. They form many rural communities in the West and many groups or elements in the cities of both East and West. The American sons and daughters of Sweden have recently staged an elaborate celebration of the sesquicentennial of the participation of Swedes in the American Revolution. They are also raising a large memorial fund to be used for keeping alive an interest in Sweden, and equally in the Swedish contribution to America. The Swedish Crown Prince, Gustaf Adolf, has been one of the most popular royal visitors to the United States. The Swedish-American aeronaut, Lindbergh, has placed himself in the front rank of the world's men of resolution and daring and pluck, born on American soil. Danish and Norwegian Americans are less numerous, but have furnished their quota of distinguished men, including Senator Knut Nelson of Minnesota and Senator Peter Norbeck of South Dakota. They all love America and are prosperous in America, bring up their children in America and prefer the United States as a place of residence to their original Scandinavian homes.

How about their brothers and cousins and the considerable number of returned emigrants now living in the mother country? How far do they appreciate the people of the United States and enjoy their international friendship? In this respect there are many variations and degrees among individuals and between the inhabitants of the three nations. To all the people of Scandinavia, the prime interests of their countries are, of course, European. Sweden and, to a less degree, Denmark and Norway, have considerable manufacturing and shipbuilding which must depend for a market chiefly on Europe and particularly on their nearest neighbors in Europe.

A big and powerful nation like the United States cannot appreciate the daily troubles of very small countries which are close to foci of international difficulties. For instance, when Denmark attempts to improve its connection with the outside

world by dredging a channel on its side of the Oresund, it is called sharply to account by the Soviet Republic which protests at any change that may divert trade from rival Russian ports not far away. Swedes and Norwegians are still complaining of the seizures of vessels by Great Britain during the World War. Adjacent to Sweden is Finland and the new little seafront States of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania, crowded between Russia and Poland, are jealous of the safer and more prosperous trio across the Baltic.

As for the United States, none of the three Scandinavian countries really love us. They all share in a feeling of suspicion and resentment on the question of the settlement of the debts of other nations with the United States. The French were for centuries the associates in culture and literature and artistic taste of the three Scandinavian countries. The Frenchman Bernadotte founded the present Swedish dynasty. Though France has no special political influence in Scandinavia, French newspapers are read; French trade is valued and French dissatisfaction with the American debt settlement is curiously potent in these regions geographically so far from France.

In all European countries there seems to be an underlying objection to the size of Uncle Sam's moneybags, combined with a willingness to reduce the contents by a long term borrowings. The objection to Uncle Sam and the sympathy with unfortunate France have, of late, been greatly strengthened by self-appointed censors of financial morals in America, who have preempted the names of several great American universities as supporting the assertion that all the settlements of foreign debts made by the State Department and signed by the President are so palpably unjust that they must be revised by a machinery which shall exclude the President and Senate of the United States. This testimony of born Americans and supposed intellectual and moral leaders to the heartlessness of the Government and people of the United States is very hurtful to our reputation and prestige all over Europe, even in Scandinavia.

The Danes seem to have been especially affected by this American criticism of the action of the American Government. Certainly until very recently, every significant newspaper in Denmark has been steadily anti-American on almost all questions. An effort is now making to turn the energy

of at least one prominent newspaper in our favor. In Sweden the point of view toward the United States is distinctly more favorable.

The Norwegians submitted to arbitration their extensive claims on the United States for the seizure of some of their neutral shipping by our Government during the war. The finding of the arbitration commission was very unwelcome, though the Norwegians received much better treatment than the United States from Great Britain. As shipbuilders and ship sailers all over the world, and as manufacturers of certain lines of fine exportable goods, none of the Scandinavian powers are pleased with our protective tariff. The Swedes are closest to the United States in cordiality, partly because of the very large number of Swedish-Americans who return to visit Sweden or to resume their residence there. They have an international grievance to which the United States is not a party through the arbitration by which Aaland Island, formerly Swedish, has been assigned to Finland.

Considering the age-long success of a Swiss Federation formed of States having very diverse interests, it seems strange that the three Scandinavian powers, so closely alike, in geographical situation, in products, in religion, in language and in political institutions, should never have arrived at any kind of Federal Union. Various unions have existed through the conquest of Norway and Denmark, the personal union of Norway and Sweden and the long holding of Southern Sweden by the Danes. The small differences in church organization, language and national spirit are a serious barrier to a common understanding.

Nevertheless, the three Kingdoms have recently concluded a mutual treaty by which none of the three shall ever make war on the other partners; and if any of the three is attacked, the other two will make common cause. If it were possible to unite the three Scandinavian powers, and perhaps even Finland, into a North Baltic Federation, a power would arise which would have to be reckoned with by the rest of Europe. The example of the United States in sinking many small differences and some great ones for the sake of securing common action by a common folk, is always at the service of the Scandinavians.

As for the sentiments of these three nations toward the United States, it is certainly more cordial on the whole than that of any European State that was engaged in the World War except Great Britain,

Czechoslovakia and Hungary. If the world is any safer for democracy in 1927 than it was in 1914, the other European democracies feel no brotherhood with the American democracy.

A preposterous notion that the United States went into the war to gain material rewards has found lodgment in many European countries. If that had been the case, the Versailles Conference would have been a bunco game, for so far we have taken no money away, we have not claimed a single acre of the enormous territories that changed hands, and we are now helping to rehabilitate Europe by public and pri-

vate loans which are in no way dependent on the war. The first thing necessary for a proper understanding of the position of the United States on the question of advances to the fighting countries during the war, after the armistice, and by new loans every year since the peace, is to destroy this picture of Uncle Sam as a Shylock. There is something comic in the prejudice against financial America in the Scandinavian countries. But it is no more comic than the similar prejudice that seems to be felt by an unascertainable number of American professors and publicists and critics of their own Government.

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

Disagreement at Conference on Naval Disarmament

By JAMES T. GEROULD

LIBRARIAN, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

DESPITE the lack of accomplishment, some would say failure, of the Disarmament Conference, the tripartite Naval Conference assembled in a mood of optimism. No one knew precisely what was going to happen or what the national programs would be. Both the British and the American delegations seemed to feel that their own ideas and the arguments in their support would be invincible. There was, at least, a sincere desire for accomplishment, though it was coupled with a determination to secure a maximum of national advantage. Three days before the opening, Mr. Gibson ventured the prediction that the business would be accomplished within forty-eight hours, provided, of course, that the British would admit the force of the American argument and would sign on the American dotted line. Unfortunately, the event was less favorable than the prediction.

The delegates began to arrive several days in advance of the formal opening. Hugh S. Gibson, Ambassador to Belgium, led the Americans, and he was ably supported by Admiral Hilary P. Jones, President of the General Board of the Navy, and by a score of aides. The British were represented by William Clive Bridgeman, First Lord of the Admiralty, with Lord

Cecil as his associate. Admiral Saito was the chief of the Japanese delegation, and he was assisted by the veteran statesman Viscount Ishii, soon to become Foreign Minister, and by Admirals Okada and Kobayashi. Along with the delegates came the representatives of France, Count Clauzel and Paul Boncour, with Commander de Leuze as naval expert. Emulating former American aloofness in European conferences, and to go them one better, these representatives were styled *informateurs*, which, they explained, is one degree more remote than *observateurs*. Italy was present in the person of Prince Rospoli.

All the delegations were loaded with sheaves of documents and reams of statistics, designed to show how special are the needs of each, how obsolete and weak their present navies actually are, and how great is their need for increased strength. Unfortunately, the national tables did not always agree with each other. There seems to be some doubt as to what, in naval parlance, constitutes a ton; for the rated tonnage of some of the British vessels is materially less than that reckoned by the formula agreed upon by the Washington Conference. No doubt the British are equally critical of some of our figures.

The sessions opened on the afternoon of

June 20 in the Glass Room of the Secretariat of the League of Nations. By previous agreement, Mr. Gibson acted as President, and Hugh R. Wilson, Minister to Switzerland, as Secretary. The first meeting lasted only forty-five minutes; but it was long enough to show that the differences which divided the delegations were very definite and were not easily to be harmonized.

The American proposals, as presented by Mr. Gibson, were as follows:

(1) That the ratios and principles of the Washington Treaty be applied to cruisers, destroyers and submarines.

(2) That any agreement concluded in Geneva by the three Powers to limit the building of auxiliary vessels should be made coterminous with the Washington Treaty and contain the same general provisions for extension or modification. It may be desirable to include an additional provision respecting revision, in the event of an extensive building program by a Power not a party to any agreement the three Powers may conclude.

(3) That for the purpose of the future limitation of naval armaments, auxiliary vessels be divided into four categories, three of which, namely, cruisers, destroyers and submarines, shall be subject to limitation, with a fourth category of negligible combatant value not subject to limitation, as follows:

(a) Cruiser class, including surface naval combatant vessels between 3,000 and 10,000 tons.

(b) Destroyer class, including all surface naval combatant vessels between 600 and 3,000 tons, with a speed greater than 17 knots.

(c) Submarine class, including all vessels designed to operate below the surface of the sea.

(d) An unrestricted class, including other naval vessels of negligible combatant value, the definition of vessels falling in this class to be subject to technical agreement.

(4) A limitation of tonnage in a general program providing as low a total tonnage in each class of auxiliary vessels on the basis of the Washington ratio. The tonnage allocations suggested as a basis for discussion are:

TOTAL TONNAGE LIMITATIONS.

CRUISER CLASS

United States	250,000 to 300,000 tons
British Empire	250,000 to 300,000 tons
Japan	150,000 to 180,000 tons

DESTROYER CLASS.

United States	200,000 to 250,000 tons
British Empire	200,000 to 250,000 tons
Japan	120,000 to 150,000 tons

SUBMARINE CLASS.

United States	60,000 to 90,000 tons
British Empire	60,000 to 90,000 tons
Japan	36,000 to 54,000 tons

On behalf of the British Empire, Mr. Bridgeman then proposed:

(1) The extension of the accepted life of existing capital ships from 20 to 26 years, and a consequent waiver by the three Powers of their full rights under replacement tables agreed upon at Washington. Such an arrangement would naturally have to provide for

some little elasticity on each side of that figure.

(2) The fixing of the life of other vessels:

(a) Eight-inch gun cruisers at 24 years.

(b) Destroyers at 20 years.

(c) Submarines at 15 years.

(3) The reduction in the size of any battle-ships to be built in the future from the present limit of 35,000 tons displacement to something under 30,000 tons.

(4) Reduction in the size of guns in battle-ships from the present limit of 16-inch to 13.5 inch.

(5) Limitation of the displacement of aircraft carriers to 25,000 tons instead of 27,000 tons.

(6) Reduction of guns in aircraft carriers from 8-inch to 6-inch.

(7) Acceptance of the existing ratio of 5:5:3 for cruisers of 10,000 tons displacement carrying 8-inch guns.

(8) The numbers of these larger cruisers which each of the three countries require can be the subject of further discussion.

(9) A limitation of 7,500 tons and 6-inch guns to be placed on all future light cruisers after the number of 10,000-ton cruisers has been decided upon.

(10) Limitation of displacement of:

(a) Destroyer leaders to 1,750 tons.

(b) Destroyers to 1,400 tons.

(11) Guns in destroyers to be limited to 5-inch.

(12) SUBMARINES—We have not changed our mind since the Washington Conference, when our delegates expressed their willingness to agree to the discontinuation of the use of submarines in warfare. But we recognize that Powers which possess fewer of the larger vessels of war regard the possession of submarines as a valuable weapon of defense.

At the same time we feel that if the proposals we have put forward for limitation of battleships and other more powerful vessels of war should be accepted, it would not be unreasonable to suggest some limitation in the size, and perhaps also in the number, of submarines.

We therefore propose that the tonnage of the larger type of submarine be limited to 1,600 and of the smaller type to 600, and the armament of each to 5-inch guns. We also think it would be desirable to discuss the possibility of limiting the number of submarines according to our varying requirements. And it must be borne in mind that any limit placed on the number of submarines would make it easier to limit the number of destroyers, and if agreement were reached on these points with other Powers it might be possible also to consider numbers of cruisers each of us should possess.

The Japanese proposals are summarized as follows:

(1) None of the conferring powers shall, for such period of time as may be agreed upon, adopt new building programs or acquire ships with the purpose of increasing its naval strength.

(2) By the term "naval strength," used in Article 1, is meant the total tonnage comprised in the category of surface auxiliary craft and the total tonnage comprised in the category of submarines to be agreed upon on the basis (a) of the tonnage of completed ships actually possessed by each power which have not

reached the replacement age specified in Article 4, and (b) of the designed tonnage of ships now in course of construction by that Power.

In determining the naval strength to be allotted to each Power, (a) the designed tonnage of ships not yet laid down but which are embodied in authorized building programs, and (b) the tonnage of ships which will pass the replacement age during the execution of such programs, shall also be taken into consideration.

(3) The following ships are excluded from the application of the foregoing two articles:

(a) Ships not exceeding 700 tons in displacement.

(b) Surface ships carrying no gun exceeding three inches in calibre, or carrying not more than four guns exceeding three inches and not exceeding six inches in calibre, with or without any number of guns not exceeding three inches in calibre, provided, however, that the speed thereof shall not exceed twenty knots.

(c) Aircraft carriers under 10,000 tons.

(4) Each Power may replace ships which shall have passed the ages hereunder specified or which shall have been lost by the construction or acquisition of ships of the corresponding category within the limits of the naval strength prescribed under Article 2.

Surface auxiliary craft above 3,000 tons, 16 years; under 3,000 tons, 12 years; submarine, 12 years.

Provided that, although the normal ages for the replacement of ships are those above specified, exceptions may be permitted in case the

conditions at present prevailing call for any special adjustments to be made.

(5) Any tonnage in excess of the naval strength prescribed in accordance with the provisions of Articles 1 and 2, as also any ships replaced by others under the provisions of Article 4, shall be disposed of according to the provisions to be agreed upon.

(6) Appropriate regulations shall be provided in respect of replacement construction in order to avoid sudden displacements of naval strength as between the conferring Powers and to equalize as far as possible the amount of annual construction undertaken by each.

It was immediately evident that the conference would not be ended within two days. The effect of the British demands was to attack the sacred ark of the Washington covenant, the validity of which was a major article of the American creed. Capital ships and aircraft carriers were settled, at least until 1931, and could not be disturbed. There were all sorts of documents to prove it. The proposals were so drafted, moreover, as to negative in their effect the principle of the 5-5-3 ratio. The British have recently constructed two post-Jutland battleships, the Rodney and the Nelson, each of 35,000 tons, superior in every respect to any in the American Navy, and their desire to decrease the permitted tonnage to 30,000 would leave these ships for a quarter of a century the most powerful in the world. Vessel for vessel, the capital ships of the British Navy are of later date than ours, and the proposal to lengthen their lives would postpone by six years the time when they may be replaced by more modern boats.

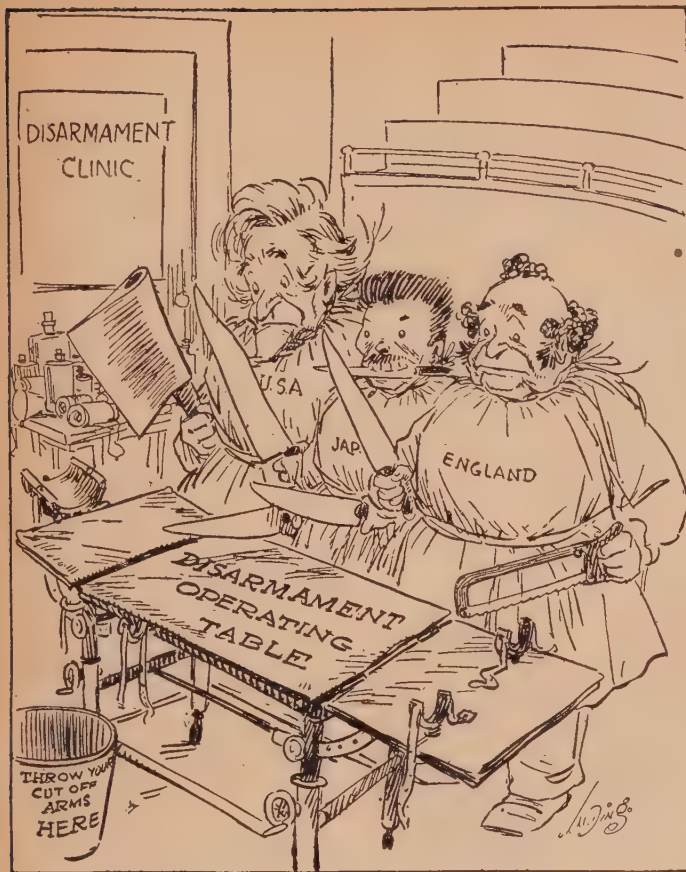
The reduction in the size of aircraft carriers to 25,000 tons, and of their guns to 6 inches, would compel us to scrap our two largest vessels, the Lexington and the Saratoga, each of 35,000 tons, whereas it would permit Great Britain to keep all hers. It would enable, as well, the rapid transformation of merchant vessels into effective carriers.

According to the Washington figures, the relative situation of the three nations as regard the types of naval vessels within the pur-



WAITING FOR THE VERDICT

—New York World



ALL SURGEONS AND NO PATIENT

—New York Tribune

a gun calibre of 6 inches, they did recommend that, after the number of 10,000-ton cruisers has been rigidly limited, the remainder of the fleet should be of vessels of no more than 7,500 tons. The objection to this lies in the lower cruising radius of the smaller craft. The British Navy has bases in all the seven seas; our own has not. Our cruisers must make voyages possible only for ships of 10,000 tons. Any that are smaller than that would be useless and would not be built. As a consequence, any theoretical parity would have practical application only in the 10,000-ton class; while the power of the British, as represented by the smaller type, would be overwhelming. Again, the 5-5-3 ratio would apply, according to the original British statement, only to the 10,000-ton ships. No limit for the others was at first suggested, and the later proposal of a total tonnage of 600,000 is exactly double the maximum American figure and four times our present strength. All this is in

view of the conference is as follows:

CRUISER STRENGTH.

	Vessels.	Tons.
United States (built and building)	18	155,000
Great Britain	54	332,290
Japan	25	156,205

DESTROYER STRENGTH.

	Vessels.	Tons.
United States	276	329,153
Great Britain	171	197,115
Japan	92	105,880

SUBMARINE STRENGTH.

	Vessels.	Tons.
United States	59	59,497
Great Britain	45	49,605
Japan	63	63,577

It was the British proposals regarding cruisers that came in for the most severe American criticism. Although they did not suggest, as some of the dispatches have seemed to assume, that in all future construction the limit should be 7,500 tons with

keeping with the constant British claim that supremacy in sea power is with them a matter of life and death. The "tight little island," dependent as it is on an imported food supply, is as fearful of starvation as are the French of German invasion, and Britannia has ruled the waves in consequence. No one seriously questioned her right to do so until after the war. The biggest of our big-navy men seldom, if ever, took exception to the two-Power theory on which the British Navy was based. By the time that the Washington Conference was summoned, however, our ideas had become enlarged. We felt, rather for the maintenance of our national prestige than because of any demonstrated necessity, that in no aspect of power could we admit inferiority. Our reactions are precisely those of the Japanese, who smart at their neces-

sity to play a 3 to the Anglo-American 5. Although we continue to insist on parity, it is doubtful if any Congress, in the present state of public opinion, could be induced to authorize a cruiser strength equal to Great Britain's. It is quite certain that they would confirm no treaty that did not admit our right to do so.

From the frequency with which golf was mentioned in the dispatches of the succeeding days, it would seem that a new feature has been added to the traditional dinners and receptions which, for centuries, have figured as the background of diplomacy. The technical men, however, worked overtime in an attempt to discover what, in terms of the others, the various proposals meant. For a week or more, though discussion was vigorous, superficially little seemed to be done. Japan at first assented

to the American and later to the British position regarding battleships. The discussion was finally postponed but will probably come up again later. The British fought hard to secure pre-eminence in the cruiser class and finally retired from their position. One by one, agreements on minor points were reached.

Mr. Bridgeman, on July 5, admitted a considerable reduction in the British demands for cruisers and stated the Admiralty's requirements at 470,000 tons distributed among seventy-one ships. Sixty of these cruisers are actually in commission. This figure still seemed to the American delegation to be much too high, though they hinted that they might be willing to increase their estimate from 300,000 to 400,000 tons. At the time this is written it seems likely that there would be further compromise.

OTHER INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

MYRON T. HERRICK, the American Ambassador to France, who has returned on two months' leave of absence, conferred with Secretary Kellogg at the State Department on July 7 with reference to the proposal of M. Briand, the French Foreign Minister, for a treaty to "outlaw war" between France and the United States. It was understood that no immediate step was contemplated, because the proposal involves many questions of policy, particularly those affecting other countries and because considerable time must be given to the preparation of a definite statement of the American attitude.

At the conference in Berlin on July 4-6 between representatives of the Federation of British Industries and the National Association of German Industries (which was a continuation of the recent meeting in London), the conclusion was



STARVING IN THE MIDST OF PLENTY

—New York American

reached that international trusts and agreements, though possibly a means to increase production, were not a panacea for present economic ills. To solve the question of international cartels fully it was resolved to establish a system of exchange of statistics and to give them the widest publicity.

Sir Alan Anderson, one of the British delegates at the fourth congress of the International Chamber of Commerce, which was held at Stockholm, speaking at the closing session on July 2, said: "Germany, at the peak of unemployment last year, had 2,000,000 unemployed. England has had 1,000,000 persons more or less unemployed for years. Different countries reckon this distress in different ways, but in Europe 5,000,000 in these last years have been persistently out of work. For every additional person fully employed, secondary employment is created for four or five more people, so the 5,000,000 unemployed in Europe is swelled to 20,000,000 who suffer directly from under-employment. They have been left out. If by a brave policy on trade we can mend that broken circle, we shall see the greatest revival of prosperity the world has known."

The French and Belgian military experts attached to their respective diplomatic corps in Berlin, it was announced on July 2, received instructions to accept the invitation of General von Pawelsz to inspect the de-

struction of the Eastern fortifications carried out by Germany in accordance with the decision of the Ambassadors' Council. It was expected that the tour, which was to begin four days later, would require three weeks to view the thirty-eight emplacements ordered razed.

Chao-hsin Chu, who represented the Peking Government on the Council of the League of Nations, on July 7 informed Sir Eric Drummond, the Secretary General, that he intended to return to China and to become politically a free lance. Chu's abandonment of his post created a considerable stir in League circles, since his action left China without a representative on the Council, on which a seat was given to her at the last session of the League Assembly.

Liberia on July 6 became the second nation to pay its entire war debt to the United States by handing to the Treasury a check for \$35,610. The principal of the debt was \$26,000, the remainder being interest. Cuba is the other nation which has wiped its war debt slate clean, although a number of other nations are making annual payments. A credit was authorized for Liberia when that nation declared war against Germany, but only the small first allotment was ever made. An attempt to re-establish the credit failed in Congress.

UNITED STATES

National Politics and Important Events During the Past Month

By WILLIAM MacDONALD

LATELY LECTURER ON AMERICAN HISTORY, YALE UNIVERSITY; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE left Washington on June 13 for his Summer vacation in the Black Hills of South Dakota, stopping at Hammond, Ind., the next day to deliver an address at the dedication of the Wicker Memorial Park. The place chosen for the "Summer White House" was the State Game Lodge, thirty-two miles from Rapid City. As the special train entered South Dakota it was met by Senator Norbeck and a reception committee, who formally welcomed the President and Mrs. Coolidge to the State. At Pierre, the State

capital, a short stop was made while the President, accompanied by the Governor, the Mayor and members of the Legislature, drove about the town. From Rapid City to the Lodge the party was escorted by a local reception committee as far as Hermosa, and thence by a company of cowboys, while a cavalry troop of Indians, among them a grandson of Sitting Bull, stood at attention at the entrance of the reservation.

With the establishment of the Executive headquarters, for the first time in American history, in the Far West, Rapid City



THERE'S NO PEACE IN THAT HOUSEHOLD

—New York Tribune

has vied with Washington as a source of political news and gossip, and the State Game Lodge has become a mecca for political pilgrims and a centre for demonstrations intended, among other things, to acquaint the President with the social characteristics of the region. On June 18 Mr. Coolidge received the members of the National Editorial Association and their wives, the party numbering in all about 500, and heard from the Governors of Nebraska and South Dakota favorable reports of the crop outlook. On the 25th the Legislature of South Dakota arrived in a body to greet the President and dedicate Mount Coolidge, the name just given by resolution to the former Mount Lookout. Any one who has an occupation, "or, as they say on the street, a job," under the American flag, Mr. Coolidge told his visitors, "has the best occupation or job of any one on earth."

It was expected that Mr. Coolidge would confer during the Summer with representatives of agriculture, industry and commerce as well as with political leaders. He reiterated on June 24 his opposition to an early meeting of Congress, and intimated that he did not intend to summon an early session unless events made it necessary.

Political forecasters have naturally been busy with speculations regarding the probable effect of Mr. Coolidge's Summer sojourn in the West upon his political future, and especially upon his chances of winning Western support in case he should decide to offer himself next year as a candidate for a third term. Previous Presidents have spent their vacations either in the East or in more or less extensive journeys about the country, and Mr. Coolidge's decision to break the precedent and pass three months or so beyond the Mississippi appears to have made a favorable impression upon the Northwestern States. The only direct reference to Mr. Coolidge as a possible candidate in 1928, however, that has yet been made came from Major General Leonard Wood, Governor General of the Philippines, who has returned to the United States and whose health has given rise to reports that he would resign. General Wood was quoted as saying on June 26, while visiting Mr. Coolidge at the State Game Lodge: "I hope my friends will support President Coolidge in the primaries next year as loyally as they did me in 1920." It was recalled that General Wood's first support for the Presidential nomination in 1920 came from South Dakota, where he carried the State primaries by a heavy majority.

Desultory discussion of the third term issue has continued, but without any clear indication of the prevailing sentiment of the country. The formation in New York City,

in June, of an Anti-Third Term League, and the suggestion by the organizers of some eighteen persons "who would make aggressive and notable candidates" if nominated by the Republicans, appear to possess as yet only local significance.

Renewed predictions on June 26 that the Democrats and insurgent Republicans would try to secure the passage of an anti-third term resolution by the next Congress, following the precedent of a House resolution in 1875 directed against the third term aspiration of President Grant, reflected the hopes of the supporters of former Governor Lowden of Illinois, the favored candidate of those Republicans who resent the veto by President Coolidge of the McNary-Haugen farm relief bill. A Lowden for President Association, Inc., of New York, headed by Thomas P. Moffat, former United States Minister to Nicaragua, issued on June 15 an elaborate statement in behalf of its candidate. Governor Lowden himself, who was asked by a committee of Indiana Republicans, representing the farm group in the State Assembly, to stand for the Republican nomination at the State primary in 1928, was quoted on June 29 as saying in reply, that he knew of "no man in all our history who has run away from the Presidency."

Nevertheless the issue of farm relief, at least in the form in which it has recently been presented, gives evidence of declining importance. Some dissatisfaction was thought to have been felt when President Coolidge, in addressing the members of the South Dakota Legislature on June 25, failed to make any direct reference to the subject, notwithstanding the strongly rural character of the Legislature and staunch support for the McNary-Haugen bill in the State. Reports to the President from other States, however, were understood to indicate a popular reaction against the principle of an equalization fee, a prominent fea-

ture of the McNary-Haugen bill, and an expectation that a new farm relief bill would be forthcoming which should embody the economic principles for which Mr. Coolidge contended. Special interest attached to a meeting of leading members of the farm bloc in Congress and representatives from half a dozen States, to be held at St. Paul on July 11, at which a farm relief program was expected to be outlined.

TAXATION AND THE SURPLUS

Of far greater importance for the Administration and Congress, if not for the country, have been the two related questions of taxation and the Treasury surplus. In an address at the semi-annual meeting of the business organization of the Government, on June 10, President Coolidge reviewed the financial situation of the Treasury, and again warned the heads of the bu-



The Farmer Is Not the Only One With a Surplus Problem
—New York Tribune

reus that the "hope of further tax reduction will be gone" unless expenditures for the ensuing fiscal year were kept down to the present level. Estimating the surplus for the present fiscal year, ending June 30, at \$599,000,000, and that for the next year at \$338,000,000, he called attention, among other things, to the appropriations which would have to be made for the relief of the Mississippi flood sufferers and in furtherance of flood control proposals that would be laid before Congress. The Director of the Budget, General H. M. Lord, reported a reduction in eight years of approximately \$8,000,000,000 in the public debt.

Actually, the surplus exceeded the President's estimate. The Treasury Department reported on July 1 that the fiscal year had closed with an unprecedented surplus of \$635,809,921. But for certain non-recurring receipts, on the other hand, the surplus would have been only \$265,000,000. An increase of \$102,000,000 in receipts over the estimates was largely accounted for by increased collections of back taxes and by \$57,000,000 more than was expected from the railroads, both of which items, it was pointed out, "fall in the class of resources that cannot be considered of a permanent character."

Notwithstanding the intimation from the Treasury Department that large reductions in taxation could not safely be made by the next Congress, the possibility of reducing taxes on a considerable scale has been actively considered by party leaders. Representative Green, Republican Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the

House, announced on June 22 that suggested cuts of from \$400,000,000 to \$500,000,000 were out of the question, but Representative Tilson, Republican floor leader of the House, seemed to think that a reduction of some \$300,000,000 would be practicable. Conservative Republicans were understood to favor a reduction of the present corporation tax of 13½ per cent., a change to which the Democrats are also committed, and a cut in surtaxes on incomes between \$50,000 and \$100,000. A call for a meeting on Oct. 31 of the Ways and Means Committee was issued on June 29.

THE MISSISSIPPI PROBLEM

The task of rehabilitating the area inundated by the Mississippi flood continues to present huge and serious problems. Late in June nearly 300,000 people were still under the care of the Red Cross in concentration camps or elsewhere, and it was estimated that weeks would elapse before great areas in the lower Mississippi Valley would be free of water. New floods, in the meantime, have brought a temporary recurrence of acute conditions in northern Arkansas and the Mississippi delta. Secretary Hoover, who returned to Washington on June 15 from another tour of inspection, estimated the economic loss at from \$200,000,000 to \$400,000,000.

The completion of plans for a health campaign in the flood States, directed against malaria, typhoid, and so forth, and extending over eighteen months, was announced by Mr. Hoover on June 21. In cooperation with State and county authorities, the Red Cross



THE FLYING AMERICAN

—De Groene Amsterdammer, Amsterdam



LINDBERGH'S FLIGHT

France: "Hearty congratulations, Uncle Sam!"

—De Groene Amsterdammer, Amsterdam

was preparing to clean up every county within thirty days after the flood subsided, following this with a continuation program by State health authorities under the direction of the United States Health Service, and with support from private agencies.

No definite indication of the flood control proposals which Congress will be asked to consider has yet been given, but the strengthening of the levees, the provision of storage reservoirs in the upper Mississippi region and the construction of spillways in lower Louisiana are among the suggestions offered. Governor Brewster of Maine, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Conference of Governors, announced on June 15 that the question of flood relief and protection would receive "primary consideration" at the meeting of the conference at Mackinac Island, Mich., on July 25.

Estimates of the cotton acreage at the end of June showed a probable falling off of 4,853,000 acres, or about 10 per cent., compared with 1926. For the larger part of this loss the flood was responsible, but prolonged drought in Texas, the largest cotton-producing State, was an important factor. Comparison with 1926, on the other hand, must take account of the fact that the planted acreage in that year, as well as the total production, was by far the largest on record.

The customary half-yearly surveys of the

business situation at the end of June showed that while conditions as a whole continued to be sound, the slowing down of industry and trade, due in part to Summer dullness, and in part to uncertainty regarding the future, had become more marked. One of the disquieting symptoms was a considerable increase in business failures. Some increase in building operations, however, was noted, and the textile situation, especially in New England, continued slowly to improve.

THE OIL SITUATION

The attempt late in May to improve the oil situation by limiting the output of crude oil in the Seminole field of Oklahoma has been unsuccessful. An output of 398,000 barrels on June 19 was the largest on record, a total production of 2,509,650 barrels in the country for the week ending on that date established a new peak, and since that date production has continued at nearly or quite its maximum. New drilling operations by the hundred were reported from the Seminole region in June. An application by the umpire of the field, Ray M. Collins, for an order to compel the oil companies to abide by the contract entered into in May for the limitation of production, was under consideration by the Oklahoma Corporation Commission when this article was prepared.

Renewed efforts of the soft coal operators and union miners to reach a new wage

agreement failed on June 24 after a conference at Philadelphia, the miners rejecting a proposed wage increase of from 10 to 20 per cent., and the operators declining to continue the old, or Jacksonville, agreement, with minor changes, for two years. Notice was then given that all the union mines in the central Pennsylvania soft coal field would be shut down on July 1. The production of soft coal by non-union mines has continued to suffice for current needs.

Wage increases applicable to firemen, hostlers and helpers on the twelve larger railroads of the Southeastern section were awarded on June 20 by the Federal Board of Mediation. The yardmen on the Western roads were also granted a wage increase on June 25, but the demand of the conductors and trainmen for a 7½ per cent. increase was denied.

A working agreement between the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the Brotherhood of Firemen and Enginemen, under which the two organizations have acted together in their dealings with the railroads, was abrogated at Cleveland on June 16. It has been in force since 1913.

The announcement on June 22 of an order reducing by 10 per cent. the salaries of all employees of the Paramount-Famous Players-Lasky organization who received more than \$50 a week, followed by the announcement of similar reductions by fifteen other motion picture producers, evoked so strong a protest from actors and others that the order was suspended on July 1 pending further negotiations.

The successful transocean flights of Lindbergh and Chamberlin have been followed by two others hardly less important. Commander Richard E. Byrd, with three companions, left New York on June 29 in the monoplane America, and after contending with bad weather during most of their flight across the Atlantic and flying for several hours over Paris in fog and rain, were forced to land in the sea at Ver-sur-Mer, on the Normandy coast, 175 miles from Paris. Commander Byrd's flight is fully described elsewhere in the magazine. On June 29 Lieutenants Lester J. Maitland and Albert Hegenberger of the United States army, with a Fokker plane, landed successfully at Honolulu after a flight from Oakland, Cal., of 25 hours 43 minutes. This flight also is described in detail elsewhere in this issue.

The stimulating effect of these and other long distance flights on the development of commercial aviation has been shown in the announcement of the inauguration, on July 5, of a regular passenger service between Chicago and St. Paul, and of a transcontinental express service, operated by the American Railway Express and serving New York, Chicago, Dallas, Los Angeles and San Francisco, to begin on Aug. 15. President Coolidge expressed himself on July 1 as believing that the time had come to establish landing places in the ocean to facilitate commercial aviation, and as favoring treaties which should map ocean routes, to be lighted and protected by radio communication.

OTHER EVENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

THE seamy side of prohibition enforcement was brought sharply to public notice on June 24 when Major August Heise, Assistant Prohibition Administrator at New York, admitted, at a jury trial in a Federal court, that "third degree" methods had been used upon an East Indian, Albert Briggs, in an effort to extort a confession that would implicate prohibition agents. The method resorted to in this case, described by Heise as a "Chinese method of punishment," consisted in tying Briggs's arms and legs, tying a towel tightly about his head, and threatening to twist the towel if the accused "did not tell the truth." Briggs himself testified that he had been "bound, beaten, kicked and cursed for six hours" at Prohibition headquarters.

Heise was promptly suspended the next day by Dr. James M. Doran, Prohibition

Commissioner at Washington, and Major Chester P. Mills, Prohibition Administrator at New York, was transferred to the office of Supervisor of the Eastern Zone. On June 28 Mills resigned, and in a public statement on the 30th charged that political patronage interfered with an honest and efficient enforcement of the prohibition laws. An investigation of the Heise case by a Grand Jury was presently begun. Federal Judge Knox, in sentencing two of Mills's former agents to thirteen months in the Atlanta penitentiary, declared on July 2 that "with so many speakeasies apparently running openly, I cannot escape the conclusion that prohibition agents are linked with the illicit traffic in liquor."

Ben B. Lindsey, founder and for twenty-five years Judge of the Denver, Col., Juvenile Court, was ousted from office on

June 30 in accordance with a decision of the State Supreme Court declaring his election in 1924 illegal.

Lieutenant Commander Donald B. MacMillan, with a party of twelve scientists, sailed from Wiscasset, Me., on June 25, on his eleventh expedition to the Arctic. The party expect to spend fifteen months in exploring Labrador and Greenland.

John Drew, "dean of American actors," died in San Francisco on July 9 at the age of 73. Mr. Drew began his stage career at the age of 20, acted with Edwin Booth, was a leading member of Augustin Daly's fa-

mous stock company and was starred for many years by Charles Frohman. He represented a school of American acting and stage traditions of which there are few exponents today. In the words of Augustus Thomas, also a prominent figure in the American theatre: "The death of John Drew is a great loss to America. His was a stabilizing influence in the theatre. He was a talented gentleman, perhaps the best informed and best educated man of his profession, and without an equal in his line, light comedy. He was the Sir Charles Wyndham of America."

MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

Obregón's Campaign for Mexican Presidency

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

PROFESSOR OF LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

MUCH interest has been aroused in the Presidential elections to be held in Mexico next year. The initial occasion for this was the granting of an indefinite leave of absence from the army to General Arnulfo Gómez, commander of the Federal forces in the State of Vera Cruz and for some time a prospective candidate for the Presidency, and the resignation as Governor of the Federal District of General Francisco Serrano, another prospective candidate.

The convention of the Anti-Re-electionist Party, attended by 1709 delegates, whose slogan was "No Re-election, no Obregón," opened in Mexico City on June 23. Three days later this convention, by an overwhelming majority vote, nominated General Gómez for the Presidency. Gómez has announced that he favors absolute freedom of speech, religious liberty, protection of the lives of citizens with full legal guarantees, and the complete separation of Church and State. A dissident group of Anti-Re-electionists favors the nomination of Serrano, who has the same platform as Gómez. As late as July 1 indications were favorable for a fusion of the Gómez and Serrano political groups.

In the meantime ex-President Obregón had been nominated for the Presidency by a convention, attended by 1,600 Agrarians, at Oaxaca on June 23; the next day he was also nominated by the Socialist Labor Party at Toluca, State of Mexico.

The following night (June 25), Obregón announced his candidacy for the Presidency. At the same time General Aarón Sáenz resigned as Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Calles cabinet in order to become Obregón's campaign manager. In his statement announcing his candidacy, Obregón declared for "complete liberty of the exercise of all cults, without admitting of any sectarian influence, and demanding always of ministers absolute respect of regulations which our laws establish." This indicates that Obregón does not favor any change in the Calles regulations putting into operation the provisions of the Mexican Constitution relating to religion. Obregón also asserted that if he should be elected he would uphold Mexico's sovereignty and decorum and her right to enact her own legislation with no limitations except those recognized by international law. He promised to facilitate honest investments of American capital which was willing to cooperate in developing the country, but favors caution to prevent investments sought by "imperialistic Wall Street capital," which, he said, might again, as in the past, attempt to provoke a Government crisis and armed conflict in Mexico by a campaign of falsehood. "Rome and Wall Street" were referred to by Obregón as headquarters of the enemies of the Calles Government. Gómez, on June 28, invited Obregón to renounce his candidacy and promised, in case that he did

so, that both he and Serrano would do likewise.

A dispatch from Mexico City on July 5 stated that the Labor Party, which as a united body had so far refrained from endorsing any of the candidates, would hold a convention in September. It was believed that it would try to put a candidate of its own in the field, probably Luis Morones, Secretary of Industry, Commerce and Labor, instead of throwing its support to any of the other candidates.

The Presidential decree forbidding the Mexican Government to buy American products directly in the United States officially became effective with its publication in the *Diario Oficial* on June 18. This decree, according to a statement issued by the Mexican Foreign Office on June 3, does not establish a boycott against American goods in general, since they may still be purchased from established American firms or agencies in Mexico.

Announcement that negotiations were going on for the prolongation of the life of the Mexican-American General Claims Commission, now sitting in Washington, was made by the Mexican Foreign Office on June 19.

Representations concerning the murder on June 3 of Arthur Brewer, an American merchant at Guadalajara, and a former football star at Harvard University, were made to the Mexican Foreign Office by the United States Embassy on June 6 and again on June 16. The Foreign Office advised the Embassy on June 22 that the Mexican Government had instructed the municipal authorities of Guadalajara to take all measures for the arrest and conviction of the slayer of Brewer.

United States Ambassador Sheffield returned to the United States early in June on leave from his post at Mexico City and in mid-June conferred with Secretary of State Kellogg at Washington. On June 6 he arrived at the Summer White House in South Dakota to report to President Coolidge and two days later tendered his resignation, which was accepted and is to take effect "upon the appointment and qualification" of a successor.

The United States Government continued during June to take vigorous action to prevent the illegal shipment of arms into Mexico. Agents of the Department of Justice, near Santa Bárbara, Cal., on June 17 seized \$50,000 worth of munitions of war that were in transit from San Francisco to the Mexican border. Three days later complaints charging violation of the neutrality laws of the United States were issued by the Federal Attorney at Los Angeles against seven men who were charged with being implicated in a plot to smuggle the seized munitions into Mexico. On June 26 José Gandaro of El Paso, Texas, was arrested and arraigned before the United States Commissioner at that place on a similar charge of violating the neutrality laws of the United States.

The Mexican Gulf Company and the International Fuel Company—two American petroleum companies operating in Mexico—were charged late in June with having violated the petroleum regulations requiring permits for the drilling of wells, and were fined 40,000 pesos and 20,000 pesos, respectively, by the Department of Industry, Commerce and Labor.

Official announcement was made on June 28 that the Texas Company of Mexico had accepted the new petroleum law, and, accordingly, that it had been granted a 50-year concession to six tracts of oil lands in the State of Vera Cruz, title to which was acquired by the company before the Mexican Constitution went into effect on May 1, 1917.

It was announced on July 2 that the attention of the State Department had been drawn by the Transcontinental Oil Company to a communication it received on June 17 from Luis Morones, Mexican Secretary of Industry, Commerce and Labor, denying its request for a drilling permit for a well at Cascalilao.

Importance was attached to the matter, as it constituted the first written refusal of such a permit to reach the State Department. Whether it went to the extent of an overt act of confiscation upon which the State Department might base strong action has not been decided.

EVENTS IN CENTRAL AMERICA

NICARAGUA—Notable progress was made during June in carrying out the peace program which Henry L. Stimson, the personal representative of President Coolidge, induced the Conservative and Lib-

eral leaders in war-torn Nicaragua to accept. Admiral Latimer, commander of the American forces in Nicaragua, reported that before midnight of June 6 the Government forces in Nicaragua had delivered to

the forces under his command 10,976 rifles, 308 machine guns, 40 cannon and 4,343,000 small-arm cartridges. Before the same date the Liberals delivered to the custody of the United States naval forces 3,931 rifles, 30 machine guns, 1 cannon and 1,519,000 small-arm cartridges. These arms constitute, according to Admiral Latimer, all the arms in Nicaragua except a comparatively few that remain in possession of individuals and of small and unimportant roving bands in the more inaccessible and thinly inhabited regions of the country. Admiral Latimer also reported on June 6 that Liberal Governors for six departments had been named in accordance with the Stimson agreement and that all except one had either taken over their offices without incident or had qualified to do so.

The withdrawal of United States marines from Nicaragua was begun on June 17. The Navy Department at Washington announced on June 24 that the withdrawal of approximately half the 3,100 marines in Nicaragua would be accomplished gradually. The marines to be left in Nicaragua will be used for police duty until after the American-supervised elections in 1928.

Admiral Latimer, at his request, in order that he might attend a sick daughter, was relieved of his command in Nicaragua in mid-June and returned to the Canal Zone. He was succeeded by Captain D. F. Sellers, Chief of Staff of the Scouting Fleet. On July 2 President Coolidge, in compliance with the Stimson peace agreement, appointed General F. R. McCoy as Chairman of a commission to supervise the election in Nicaragua in 1928.

The Nicaraguan Government late in June recalled its diplomatic representative in Costa Rica on account of the failure of the Government of that country to recognize Adolfo Díaz as President of Nicaragua.

Dr. Juan B. Sacasa, former Liberal contender for the Nicaragua Presidency, left Costa Rica early in June and by the middle of the month had resumed his practice of medicine in Guatemala City.

The State Department issued a statement on July 1 that it had been informed by the American Minister at Managua that some days before, one Sandino, formerly employed by the American, Charles Butters, in his San Albino mines in Nueva Segovia, entered the mine at the head of some fifty armed bandits and, threatening death to Butters if he refused, carried off some 500 pounds of dynamite with corresponding

fuse and caps. Sandino was reported to have forcibly taken over the mine, driving off all foreigners and to be running the mine to its ruin. Butters appealed to the Legation and General Feland for protection of interests which, he stated, amounted to some \$700,000, he being reported as largest, if not sole owner. General Feland announced that he was preparing a guard to protect the mine.

HONDURAS—New import duties, representing an increase of more than 200 per cent. on some commodities, and an increase of export duties were scheduled to go into effect in Honduras on Aug. 1. The new tariff is expected to produce an increase of \$500,000 in the Government's annual income.

COSTA RICA—The public debt of Costa Rica has been reduced from \$48 per capita to \$37 in the last five years, and the present prosperous condition of the country indicates that this reduction may be expected to continue. The revenues of the Government have been exceeding the expenditures in an increasing amount since 1921. The public debt in 1921 amounted to 91,850,646 colones (\$22,962,661), and at the end of 1926 it had been reduced to 79,007,295 colones (\$18,751,823). The revenues exceeded expenditures in 1926 by 4,805,899 colones.

CUBA—Approval of proposed constitutional amendments making the municipal Government of Havana a Federal District, creating twelve new Senatorships, deferring all elections until 1930, and extending the term of office of Federal officials, including the President, from four to six years, was registered by the Cuban House of Representatives on June 21 by a vote of 90 to 8. The measures had previously been approved by the Senate, but, in order for them to become effective, they must be approved by the Constitutional Convention and by a plebiscite among the electorate.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC—The revised Constitution of the Dominican Republic, which was proclaimed on June 16, extends the term of office of President Vásquez, Vice President Velásquez and the members of Congress from 1928 to 1930. The Constitution of 1924 makes a President of the Dominican Republic ineligible for re-election for a second successive term.

The New Chilean Government's Policy Toward Tacna and Arica

By HARRY T. COLLINGS

PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

FROM recently published biographical notices of the new Chilean President, Colonel Carlos Ibáñez, we learn that he is descended from a colonial family and that one of his ancestors was an Irishman, John Evans, whose name was transformed into Don Juan de Ibáñez. He has spent his life in the army. He graduated from the military school in Santiago, began his military career as an instructor in the army of the Republic of Salvador and continued it in various stations in Chile. He became politically active in 1924 and has been working against the professional politicians ever since for efficiency and results. Some compare him with Mussolini. His ideals are stated as follows:

To make ours what was given to us. To gain back all which has been resigned into alien hands; to redeem our soil, our wealth, our spirit of enterprise. To temper our love of country and flag, to the end that no red rag shall ever displace the tricolor at the head of our laboring masses. Finally to uphold the spirit of patriotism and nationalism as a pridesful object of worship.

The new Government almost immediately announced a decided policy in regard to Tacna and Arica. The following instructions were issued to the Intendente of Tacna and the Governor of Arica:

1. It is the firm resolution of the Government to maintain in complete integrity its intention of arriving at the most complete and definite nationalization of the province. To this end it is essential that the Administration should take the form there of intensive nationalistic action, while at the same time rendering the sovereignty of Chile acceptable to all the inhabitants.

2. Severe and scrupulous order must be the rule in the public Administration, and for this it is necessary that all functionaries must possess qualities of competence and honesty calculated to make Chilean administration efficient and respected.

3. Careful attention must be bestowed on all the natives inscribed in the plebiscitary electoral registers, who have manifested with sincerity and enthusiasm their adhesion to Chile.

4. Foreigners who make propaganda against the national interests and against the integrity of our territory will be visited with all the rigor of the law. The Government is determined to expel at once from the province any disturbing element.

5. Every assistance must be given to Peruvians who dedicate their activities to work and who respect the established order, their rights and interests being protected in the most ample manner possible. This protection must be even more effective in the case of the indigenous population residing in the sub-delegations in the interior—people who, from their weak and timid character and ignorance, may be victimized by the unscrupulous.

6. Fundamental importance must be attributed to public instruction, so disposing without delay that its organization shall be patriotic in character, and in accordance with the following desiderata: (a) It is desired to stimulate civic culture by means of suitable lectures, selected readings from national history and press articles patriotic in spirit; (b) to apply strictly the legal prescriptions relating to obligatory primary education, so that no child shall fail to receive the seed sown in the Chilean school; (c) to further the work of secondary education, granting the directors of educational establishments the means and facilities necessary to convert the school into a pleasant and appropriate centre of reunion for the families of the scholars; (d) to make a special ceremony of the taking of the Oath to the Flag by the conscripts of the different regiments stationed in Tacna and Arica; the ceremony is to take place in the public plazas, in the presence of the pupils of all educational establishments; (e) on the anniversaries of the great battles of the Independence, of the combat of Iquique, of La Concepcion, Tarapaca, Tacna, the taking of the Morro of Arica, the battles of Chorrillos and Miraflores and the entry to Lima, the flag is to be hoisted over the entrances to the schools with a ceremony at which teachers and scholars will be present, and a lecture must be given recalling the glorious event.

7. In difficulties that may arise between employers and employed, liberty of work must be guaranteed above all, as it is a sacred right; due protection being given, therefore, to workers desirous of returning to their duties.

8. In cases where these strikes or lockouts may prejudice communications with Bolivia, which are fully guaranteed by the treaty of 1904, the stipulations of that solemn treaty must be carried into effect, if necessary, with the assistance of the army, the navy, the carabineers and the police.

The negotiations to settle the Tacna-Arica difficulties received another set-back in the middle of June, when Colonel Rizo Patron, the Chilean member of the Tacna-Arica Boundary Commission, resigned. The reasons given seemed to indicate that the member from the United States and the Pe-

ruvian Commissioner had desired to make some modifications of the rules of the commission, among which was a provision that two members might constitute a quorum; these modifications were opposed by Colonel Patron and an impasse resulted, as he refused to attend meetings of the commission.

President Ibáñez had planned to visit these provinces but instead sent his Foreign Minister. Late press reports indicated that there was danger of a coup d'état, that the Government had banished several members of Congress and journalists for harboring and propagating radical views, and that because of these difficulties Ibáñez had abandoned his trip. William M. Collier,

the American Ambassador to Chile, was also reported on his way to Peru via Bolivia and to have left La Paz for Arica in company with Señor Barros, the Chilean Minister to Bolivia, on July 6.

Other evidences of the new order are making their appearance. The naval administration is to be reorganized along English lines. A board of admiralty consisting of the Minister of Marine and three admirals is to be created. Valparaíso will no longer be naval headquarters. Also the police and carabineer forces have been consolidated into a body of 20,000 men under the Minister of the Interior to be distributed throughout the various departments and provinces.

OTHER EVENTS IN SOUTH AMERICA

ARGENTINA—The Sacco-Vanzetti case has attracted much attention in Argentina, not only because of its own features but also because the labor organizations in that republic are having a similar struggle. One of the Argentine trade union organizers in the agricultural regions, Eusebio Mañasco, has been sentenced to a twenty-five-year term for the murder of an English plantation manager. This sentence, Argentine labor leaders contend, is open to the same objections leveled at the Sacco-Vanzetti verdict. The Associated Press reports a "wide response" to the call of the Syndicalist Union for a general strike of twenty-four hours' duration on June 15 in protest against the Massachusetts conviction. Echoes of this were noted in other Latin-American nations, for on the same day a similar strike was successfully carried out in the capital of Paraguay and an unsigned letter was received by William M. Collier, United States Ambassador in Chile, threatening him with death if the two labor agitators were executed.

Another development of interest to labor was the recent decision of the Socialist Party of Argentina not to be represented at the Fifth Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor to be convened at Washington, July 18. Early in the year this organization had accepted an invitation to participate in the conference, but the Socialists subsequently withdrew their acceptance on the ground that they now believe that this conference is being promoted by the State Department of the United States in order to extend its influence.

Two items of potential significance were (1) the reports that the Argentine Minister to Mexico had stated that his country was

studying the Mexican Constitution in preparing regulations for the protection of its petroleum fields; and (2) that the Chief of the Argentine Naval Commission in Europe had placed an order in England for three destroyer flotilla leaders of the latest type.

BRAZIL—Commercial reports show that Brazilian business is still slow, that coffee prices are still declining, and that most importing is dull. That this situation is not unmarked elsewhere is indicated by the speech of the Japanese Ambassador to Brazil during a recent visit in Tokio before the Pan-Pacific Club. He explained that Brazil had not sufficient man power to exploit her inexhaustible natural resources:

Japan with her overflowing population can with great facility provide the necessary assistance. Moreover, as regards Brazil, the supply of capital is a subject of equal importance with immigration. Have we not already seen capitalist countries like England, France, the United States of North America, and so many others in the West, lending their financial assistance to Brazil in order to enable her to turn to advantage her invaluable but unexploited riches?

Why should not Japan follow the example of these countries in this respect? Why should we not put our surplus capital at the disposal of Brazil as well as our overflow of manpower? Besides, to utilize to the utmost the capabilities of our emigrants, they also will require our financial assistance.

I hope, therefore, that this country will not neglect to take into serious consideration this question of introducing Japanese capital into Brazil concurrently with the encouragement of emigration—capital which is necessary no less for the exploitation of the riches of Brazil than for the progress of our Japanese colonists in that most hospitable and kindly land.

Dr. Gastao Da Cunha, a leading figure in

Brazilian life and President of the League of Nations Council in 1921, died on July 5.

VENEZUELA—President Juan Vicente Gomez in his annual address delivered to the two Houses of Congress in joint session on April 28, 1927, announced that all political prisoners had been released from the penitentiaries and jails prior to the delivery of the address. Louis T. Dugger writes from Caracas as an officer of the Venezuelan Atlantic Refining Company and as an American citizen: "I can vouch for the truth of the statement, for numerous political prisoners who had been detained for as long as from ten to fifteen years were released on that date."

BOLIVIA—Professor Edwin Kemmerer of Princeton completed his financial mission in Bolivia and departed on July 5 for Arica. Before he left the University of Bolivia conferred upon him an honorary degree. A plan for the reorganization of the national bank, an organic budget law, the reorganization of the Treasury, a law governing the operations of the banks, the reform of the customs tariffs and the revision of the railroad rates were the principal problems studied and settled by the mission which he headed.

A protocol was signed in Buenos Aires on April 22 between representatives of the Bolivian and Paraguayan Governments, accepting the good offices of the Argentine Government in the settlement of the long standing dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay over the delimitation of their frontiers. This protocol provides that the Bolivian and Paraguayan Governments shall send their plenipotentiaries to Buenos Aires within 90 days of its confirmation, these delegates being in possession of all documents which bear on the dispute. Should they be unable to come to an agreement they are to publish the cause of their disagreement and the point will be submitted to an arbitration tribunal named by the two delegates. The Government of Argentina is to be acquainted in due course with the result arrived at. The President of Bolivia has expressed himself satisfied with the result obtained by the friendly intervention of the Argentine, and public

opinion has been unmoved by recent events in the Chaco (the disputed territory) and will accept with calm any decision arrived at. Whereas the Chaco region has been neglected by Bolivia, and very few Bolivian white people live there, Paraguay has steadily pushed her frontier forward, so that today she is owner of the Paraguay River and only a few miles of the right bank remain in Bolivian hands. Dispatches of June 30 reported that Bolivia had appointed her delegates.

PERU—At the session of the recent Pan-Pacific Conference at Honolulu the Peruvian delegate, E. Tores Belon, reported on the progress of Peru's policy of "autocolonization." In 1924 the republic finished a project started in 1920 which irrigated and made habitable 20,000 acres of land in the Valley of Canete, eighty kilometers from Lima, which sold within twenty-four hours and are now largely under cultivation. Encouraged by this the Government started a much more ambitious project 500 miles north of Lima embracing the irrigation of 175,000 acres. This, the Almos project, "will join six rivers in a single system of discharge, will embrace six greater drainage works, the construction of 150 miles of trunk canal, 100 miles of drainage trunks, 300 miles of wagon roads and the establishment of fifteen urban centres and a port. Because of destructive rains and floods in 1925 less than 20 per cent. of the construction of this project has been done, but all the preparatory work is complete."

Delegate Belon stated that a policy of "autocolonization" was necessary in a country such as Peru, "where enormous topographical accidents of territory and transformations of political structure have profoundly divided its mass of population, leaving some groups isolated from others without solid ties of nationality and without the spirit of reciprocal cooperation." He added: "To this is due the aim of planting in the reclaimed lands a selected number of settlers of sober and industrious habits, coming from several centres in the southern part of the country, such as Arequipa, where the division of property may have accustomed them to an atmosphere of freedom and strengthened the love of the land."



Withdrawal of Plan to Strengthen Britain's House of Lords

By RALSTON HAYDEN

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

THE struggle between the Socialists, organized as the Labor Party, and the more conservative elements of the nation for the permanent control of the British Government manifested itself during June in the proposal and hasty withdrawal of the Conservative Government's plan to modify the composition and increase the powers of the House of Lords. The Government's scheme was presented in very general terms in the House of Lords itself on June 20, and the statement was made that its proposals would be embodied in a bill to be introduced early during the next session of Parliament. Within a week, however, it had become evident that the Ministerial plan to make the upper Chamber an impregnable defense against the growing power of Labor would fail to be supported even by the more liberal members of the Conservative Party, and the Government's plans were immediately and drastically amended.

Briefly, the Government proposed, first, to reconstitute the House of Lords by reducing it from its present number of more than 700 to about 350 members, most of whom would be elected from among the hereditary peers or be members nominated by the Crown, the number in each case to be determined by law. The members composing these two groups would hold their seats for twelve years, and of those elected by the hereditary peers (a majority of the whole House) for twelve years, one third would retire every fourth year and be eligible for re-election. In addition, the peers of the Blood Royal, the Law Lords and the Peers Spiritual would be included in the membership of the Chamber. Peers who were not members of the House of Lords might present themselves for election to the House of Commons, instead of being ineligible for that body, as is now the case.

The second group of Government proposals was intended to strengthen the position of the Lords and stabilize that position. The Parliament act of 1911 deprives the upper Chamber of all power even to delay

the enactment of money bills; and it lays upon the Speaker of the House of Commons the duty of finally deciding whether a given bill does or does not fall within that category. This provision has always been considered unfair by the peers, and the Government proposed that it should be altered so that the decision as to what are money bills should be made by a joint standing committee containing an equal number of members of each House. Furthermore, in making its decision this committee should have regard not only to the form but to the substance and effect of the measure, and might declare non-financial a measure which, although in form a finance bill, would actually make great changes in the law of the land. It was also proposed that the Lords should have equal powers with the Commons over bills affecting local rates.

The Government, finally, suggested that the law be so amended that bills altering the power or composition of the House of Lords, as set out in the Parliament act, should be exempted from the provision of the Parliament act, 1911, by which non-financial bills can be passed into law without the consent of the House of Lords during the course of a single Parliament.

It was this last proposal, coupled with the plan to leave the hereditary peers in the majority in the new Chamber and to limit the number of members who could be nominated by the King, which aroused the greatest opposition. Practically, it meant that the House of Lords, with its powers over money bills substantially increased, could not be legally touched, as to powers or membership, without its own consent. The right to create in unlimited number peers with membership in the upper Chamber is one of the most ancient of the royal prerogatives. In 1911 it was Premier Asquith's threat to advise the Crown to use this prerogative which forced the peers to consent to the passage of the Parliament act of that year, and upon other occasions that threat of its use has given pause to the obstructive policies of die-hard

Tories. Liberals and Laborites, therefore, see in this ministerially controlled prerogative a means of overriding an hereditary Chamber which may stubbornly oppose the considered decisions of the people. Many Conservatives, however, fear that should Labor secure a majority of the House of Commons the Socialists might use this same power to make far-reaching constitutional changes, even to the abolition of the House of Lords, and perhaps the Crown itself. They proposed, therefore, to make it legally impossible for a transient majority in the House of Commons to alter the position of the House of Lords without appealing to the electorate on that issue. One side accordingly feels that it must destroy this royal prerogative as a matter of self-preservation; the other is determined to preserve it as an indispensable instrument of progress.

Perhaps the most succinct summary of the objections which swamped the Conservative scheme is the manifesto of the Liberal Parliamentary Party on the subject, which declared: "These proposals, the enactment of which appears to be contemplated without previous submission to the country will undermine the supremacy of the representative Chamber. * * * They

permit the interference of the House of Lords in matters of finance and leave the House of Commons in a weaker position than it has occupied for centuries. By taking away the Royal prerogative to create peers in case of deadlock, they might force the nation to choose between an uncontrolled hereditary Chamber and revolution."

The decision of the Government to reduce its plans for Lords reform during this Parliament to amending those provisions of the Parliament act, 1911, which make the Speaker the final judge as to what are finance bills seems to have been forced by the younger members of the Conservative party. It followed a meeting of the Central Council of the National Union of Conservative Unionist Associations at which 800 delegates made it evident that they were opposed to the more elaborate plan which had been announced. The Council, however, pledged "sympathetic support" to the Government's general purpose to reform the House of Lords, and that body itself approved the proposals by a large majority, which probably means that the lines are being tightened for a real struggle on the subject the next time it comes to an issue.

OTHER EVENTS IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

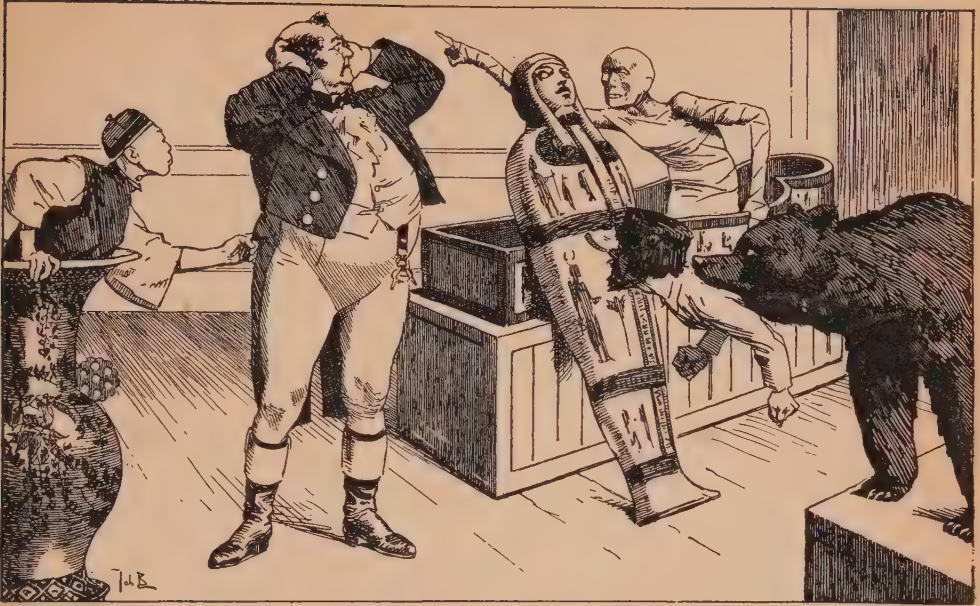
GREAT BRITAIN—In another field as highly contentious as that of House of Lords reform, the Baldwin Government was more successful in its efforts to secure important legislation. On June 23 the Trade Union bill passed its third reading in the House of Commons by a majority of 215. The measure had been considerably modified in detail as the result of the buffeting which it had received during its stormy course through the House. Although amendments had made it clearer in definition, narrower in scope, and more moderate in application it was still bitterly opposed by the Labor Party.

Of political events outside Parliament, perhaps the most important which occurred during June were two Conservative victories in important by-elections and the establishment of a close working agreement between the Cooperative Party and the Labor Party. The Congress of the former organization sanctioned such an alliance, and it was expected that the arrangement would strengthen Labor at the next general election.

Economic conditions in Great Britain

showed no marked changes during the period under review. For a short time during the third week in June, financial London was much perturbed over heavy exportations of gold purchased in the open market by French and other buyers. More serious in its consequences was the falling foreign demand for British coal. The output of the mines remained reasonably large, but prices continued to fall, probably because of the increase of Continental production and the loss of foreign markets during the general strike of 1926.

IRELAND—During the month of June Ireland passed through a political crisis which involved a general election and the constitution of a new Government. The election reduced the Government party in the Dail Eireann from a parliamentary majority of 17 to a parliamentary minority of seven, but as none of the opposition groups could muster a majority, or really cared to assume the responsibilities of office, William T. Cosgrave was re-elected President of the Executive Council with a Ministry of his



ENGLAND'S DIFFICULTIES

John Bull in the haunted house

—*De Groene Amsterdammer*, Amsterdam

own choice. Eamon de Valera and forty-three other members of the extreme Republican group who were elected to the Dail sought to take their seats without subscribing to the required oath of allegiance to the British King, but were forcibly prevented from doing so. In their absence the Dail is composed of 47 members of the Government party, 22 Labor representatives, 11 Farmers, 8 National Leaguers, 6 Sinn Feiners and 15 Independents.

In forming his Government, President Cosgrave declared that he would accept the responsibility of office only on the definite understanding that he would have sufficient support from the Opposition parties to enable his party to carry out its full program. He and his followers would not return to office merely to act as super-policemen while the economic and industrial interests of the country were allowed to drift; they would not countenance any tampering with either the Treaty or the Constitution. There would be no change in the oath of allegiance to the King so long as he and his friends were in office. Both the election on June 11 and the organization of the new Dail and Executive Council on June 23, occurred without disorder.

Kevin O'Higgins, Vice President of the

Irish Free State, Minister of Justice and of Foreign Affairs, was assassinated in Dublin on July 10 as he was walking unguarded to mass. Mr. O'Higgins had long been an active adversary of the De Valera Republicans and some of the many enemies whom he had made in the course of his political career were believed responsible. He had just returned from the League of Nations Conference at Geneva, where he had played an important part, asserting that the British representatives spoke only for Great Britain and not for Ireland unless expressly authorized.

Born in 1892, son of T. F. O'Higgins and grandson of T. D. Sullivan, two prominent figures in the history of the struggle for Irish independence, he made his entry into political life when arrested as a Sinn Feiner in 1918. However, he soon experienced an alteration in his convictions and when the new Government was established he was appointed Minister of Home Affairs and instituted a series of vigorous measures to restore peace to the country, in the application of which seventy-seven irregulars were executed. In this office he showed himself an implacable adversary of all whom he believed inimical to the interests of the Irish Free State and neither friendship nor sentiment deterred him from the perform-

ance of what he considered his duty to the Government, as was evidenced by his approval of the death sentence for Rory O'Connor, his close friend but an incorrigible insurrectionist. He was unswerving in his determination that the oath of the officials of the Irish Free State, pledging their allegiance to King George, should be observed meticulously because, he argued, tampering with the oath meant throwing away the whole harvest of the treaty with Great Britain. The new Constitution received his unqualified support and he was inflexible in his insistence upon strict observation of it. This uncompromising attitude won him many enemies and he was even called "the Mussolini of Ireland," but his indifference to criticism and his opposition to measures instituting any censorship of the free press would alone absolve him from the charge of exercising dictatorship.

The London *Times* pays him the following editorial tribute: "Kevin O'Higgins has lost his life as champion of a cause. For that cause, his country as he saw it, first as the foe of Great Britain and then as the foremost champion of the treaty of peace and friendship with her, he repeatedly risked his life. Happier than many patriots have been, he lived and wrought powerfully in his hour to set his country in the lines he believed best, and dying could look back on a large measure of achievement."

CANADA—On July 1 the Dominion of Canada celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of its birth as a self-governing unit of the British Empire. At Ottawa impressive ceremonies were conducted and broadcast by radio to every Province of the Dominion and a large part of the United States. In a special message to the Canadian people King George V declared that Canada now "has to take an ever-increasing share in guiding the councils and solving the problems of the great commonwealth of which she is a part, conscious that within it there is perfect freedom and that the unity of the nations of the British Empire is the surest guarantee of peace in the world today." A feature of the exercises was the dedication of a magnificent new carillon installed in the tower which rises high above the Parliament Building.

Vincent Massey, Canadian Minister at Washington, on June 8, presented a strong note to the State Department protesting against the recent order of the American Department of Labor classifying as immi-

grants Canadians who daily cross the international boundary to their places of employment in the United States. The note declared that the new regulations ended without notice or negotiation a long-standing arrangement under which economic interests had developed and communities had grown up in Canada depending in part on employment in the United States; that the classification of such workers as immigrants was a departure from the ordinary use of the term; that the sudden dislocation of long-established relations in the Windsor district, which is particularly affected, could hardly fail to have "grave results," and that "the retroactive aspect of the order in excluding individuals who have been previously permitted by the immigration authorities to enter the United States cannot fail to cause ill feeling and to work great hardship." Unless modified in the meantime the regulations complained of will go into effect Dec. 1 and will exclude from the United States all Canadian workers who cannot secure quota visas by that time—a very large majority of those now daily crossing the border.

Prince Edward Island, the smallest Canadian Province, on June 25 voted by an overwhelming majority against the substitution of Government control of the sale of liquor for the present Prohibition law.

The Progressive Government of Premier Bracken won a decisive victory in the general election in Manitoba on July 2.

SOUTH AFRICA—As a Bourbon prince once "threw the crown of France out of the window" rather than reign under a flag which did not fly the lilies of his house, the handful of white South Africans of Dutch and British descent continue to jeopardize their permanent control over that part of the "black continent" by an increasingly bitter dispute over their national ensign. On June 21 the House of Assembly amended the Government's flag bill to provide for an entirely new design—horizontal stripes of orange, white and blue (the flag of the House of Orange) with a shield in the center bearing the Union Jack, the flags of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State Republics, and in the fourth quarter four stars to represent the four Provinces of the Union. Although the new design was not acceptable to the British element in the Union (because the Union Jack is not a part of the flag itself, but

merely charged on it), the bill was passed by the Assembly on June 23. It was expected that the Senate would reject the measure.

AUSTRALIA—The Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth and of the States reached an important agreement on the financial relations of the Federal and State Governments. The plan provides for the creation of a compulsory loan council on which the Commonwealth and all of the States will be represented and which will supervise the payment of present debts and the contracting of new loans. It is also proposed that the Commonwealth shall take over all the State debts on July 1, 1929, contribute \$37,925,000 annually towards their interest charges, and provide for their extinction by sinking funds in a period of 58 years. New debts shall be redeemed 53 years after the dates upon

which the loans are raised. Although approved by the Premiers of the several States and of the Commonwealth, the new financial scheme cannot be put into effect without the amendment of the Commonwealth Constitution.

INDIA—As a result of the report of the Indian Tariff Board on the Cotton Textile Industry the Government of India on June 7 announced that it would introduce legislation at the Autumn session of the Indian legislature to remove the duty from certain machinery and its component parts and aniline dyes and other materials used in the cotton textile industry. The report declared that to a large extent the present depression in the Indian cotton industry is due to local causes, but that in part it could be attributed to Japanese competition based on inferior wages and working conditions.

FRANCE AND BELGIUM

Poincaré's Prestige Continues Despite Opposition

By CARL BECKER

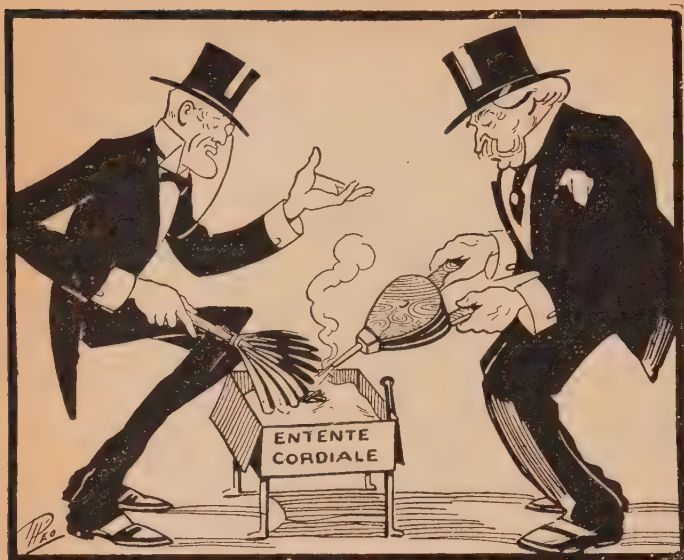
PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, CORNELL UNIVERSITY; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

DURING the month of June Premier Poincaré was kept fairly busy accomplishing very little. That was not his fault, but the fault chiefly of the parties which, in view of the approaching general elections, became increasingly disposed to play politics on every occasion. More than at any time since last July members exhibited party loyalty by harassing the Government, hesitating to vote for any measure which was likely to be unpopular with their constituencies. Yet the Premier's prestige as a financial wizard is still so great that no party showed the least disposition to assume the heavy responsibility which he has carried for the last year. The result was that while the Chamber showed a persistent disposition to block the Premier's measures, it readily gave the Government a vote of confidence as often as one was asked for.

The financial situation remained much what it was during the month of May. The Bank of France continued to buy

heavily in foreign exchange, still further increasing its gold reserve. Chief among the financial measures of the month was the new 10,000,000,000 franc loan designed to effect the consolidation of the internal floating debt. The project called for the issue of 6 per cent. bonds to run for fifty years, it being understood that the money raised would be used to retire an equal amount of notes, thus relieving the Government of heavy obligations to the Bank of France, especially the obligation of paying the two billions of francs due at the end of the current year. Although the Government was empowered to carry through this measure without the formal sanction of Parliament, the parties of the Left made political capital by exhibiting their opposition to it, charging the Premier with being a "prisoner of the banks" at the very moment when he was preparing to free himself from them.

The chief difficulties of the Ministry arose in respect to those measures which



THE MORE-THAN-CORDIAL ANGLO-FRENCH ENTENTE

Briand: "Light it up, light it up, my dear Chamberlain."

Chamberlain: "Oh, yes, yes."

—P'st, Constantinople

required the sanction of the Chamber. As noted last month, the bill for transferring the match monopoly to an American-Swedish corporation encountered so much opposition that it had to be abandoned. The Premier defended the measure on strictly financial grounds; the Left parties opposed it effectively on the ground of political principles. On June 16 factional party opposition suddenly developed in respect to the minor measure of credits for the compensation of clerks dismissed as a result of the Government's policy of administrative economy, and in order to dispose of the matter the Premier was compelled to ask

for a vote of confidence, which he promptly got—327 to 200.

The Renaudel bill for the reorganization of the army encountered marked opposition also. The Left parties insisted that the term of service be reduced to one year; while the Conservatives insisted that the permanently enlisted forces be sufficient to safeguard the frontier against a surprise attack from Germany. The difficulty of reconciling these demands led to the withdrawal of the original bill and the substitution for it of another prepared by M. Fabry. The latter provided for reducing the term of service to one year, but at the same time contemplated maintaining an adequate force by increasing the reserves. Opposition from the Left

was such that on June 16 the Premier was again compelled to ask for a vote of confidence, which he again promptly got—324 to 220. On June 28 the Chamber finally voted the provision for reducing the term of service to one year, but the vote was conditioned on passing the other cardinal feature of the bill providing for a permanently enlisted force of 106,000 men.

The Premier, on June 27, presented to the Chamber a preamble and an explanation in general terms of the projected budget for 1928, according to which the anticipated receipts will be 42,160,682,651 francs, and the expenditures, 41,527,952,171 francs.

OTHER EVENTS IN FRANCE—EVENTS IN BELGIUM

FRANCE—Apart from the difficulties of the Government in getting its measures through a reluctant Parliament, the chief interest of the month centred in the dramatic "Daudet affair." Léon Daudet, leader of the Royalist Party and editor of *L'Action Française*, was recently condemned to five months' imprisonment for defamation, the trial and sentence resulting from a statement of Daudet's that his son, found dead in a taxicab in 1923, was "assassinated by the police." Daudet, thereupon, barricaded himself in his offices, and, supported by some 900 "camelots du roi," refused to

surrender to the police. On June 11 and 12 thirty people were injured as a result of conflicts between the police and the followers of Daudet. However, on June 13 the Chief of Police brought the situation to a head by surrounding the offices of Daudet with fire engines and an effective cordon of police, the plan being to drown out the besieged and drive them into the hands of the police, thus avoiding bloodshed and making the defiers of the law ridiculous. Daudet, seeing that the game was up, at last surrendered, and he and his followers were permitted to march out "with the

honors of war." Having finally arrested the Royalist leader, the Government was disturbed at the thought of making him a martyr, all the more so when, on June 23, Marcel Cachin, Communist leader, having been convicted for inciting soldiers to desert and invited to waive his privileges as a member of the Chamber and submit to voluntary imprisonment, agreed to do it, asking only for a period of ten days' grace. This alarmed particularly the Socialists and the Radicals, who objected to making a martyr of the Communist leader quite as much as they did to making a martyr of the Royalist leader. A plan was thereupon arranged, satisfactory to the Government and the majority of the Chamber, which contemplated the release of both Daudet and Cachin on July 14, the national holiday. Much to the amusement of Paris and the dismay of the Government this plan was disarranged by the escape of Daudet on June 25, which was effected by a clever trick practiced by one of Daudet's followers on the directorate of the Santé Prison. According to the last accounts the police were unable to discover Daudet, who was reported to have escaped to Belgium or

Switzerland. Cachin was freed "temporarily" by the Chamber on July 4. In itself the episode was of slight importance; but it contributed somewhat to that amused and cynical state of mind throughout the country which is so dangerous to the stability of Ministries in France.

BELGIUM—The matter of chief interest in Belgium continued to be the increasingly satisfactory situation resulting from the stabilization of the currency. The restoration of confidence has resulted in a steady flow of capital from abroad and from private hoardings, seeking investment in Belgian enterprises. Business depression, which was anticipated at the time of stabilization, has, in fact, not been marked; and during the recent past industrial conditions have greatly improved. Since Feb. 9 the discount rate for loans has been reduced from 6½ per cent to 5 per cent. Most satisfactory of all, from the point of view of the taxpayer, has been the steady reduction of the public debt, and the very good prospect that the Government will be in a position to continue the reduction in the future.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

Social Democrats Gain Strength in Germany

By HARRY J. CARMAN

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

THE German Social Democratic Party, the strongest political organization in Germany, with 131 representatives in the Reichstag, is steadily gaining in strength, according to a detailed report submitted at a national convention of the party held at Kiel from May 22 to May 27. Figures on dues-paying membership showed a material recovery during 1926 from the heavy decline in 1925, the total on Jan. 1 being 823,520, a gain of 17,252, most of which was due to the increase of the women party members from 151,811 to 165,492. Of the party's total receipts of 8,500,000 marks last year 4,542,800 came from dues; 199,051 marks were paid as dues to the Socialist and Labor International. According to estimates based upon data gathered in Hamburg, Bremen and Hanover, about 72 per cent. of the male members of the party are manual workers, 11 per cent. "brain

workers," 4 per cent. professional men, and 5 per cent. independent business men and artisans. In addition to its 131 Reichstag members, of whom 16 are women, the Social Democratic Party has 468 members, including 49 women, in the various State Legislatures; 482, including 20 women, in the Provincial Diets; 3,146, including 47 women, in the county legislative bodies; 6,773, including 295 women, in City Councils, and 20,090, including 452 women, in the town and village councils. It also has 24 Deputies in the Prussian Council of State, 708 Mayors of cities and towns, 637 heads of local administrations, and 340 salaried City Councillors.

Among the Socialist Party's possessions are 104 printing plants, 27 publishing concerns and 13 other business establishments. The party's property is valued at 42,000,000 marks (at 23.8), against which are mort-



THE "LOCARNO BROTHER" BRIAND IN LONDON

Briand (in the imperialist coach with Chamberlain, addressing Stresemann): "Do not embarrass me now by greeting me. When we are quite alone again we can talk more about Locarno."

—Kladderadatsch, Berlin

gages and notes totaling 16,000,000 marks. Net book profits for 1926 amounted to 1,400,000 marks, about half as much as in the preceding year. The party publishes 184 daily newspapers, and among the 7,000 employees of the party enterprises are 500 editorial workers. During the last two years the National Executive Committee spent 637,000 marks in reorganizing party businesses that were not doing well and 930,000 in establishing new concerns, including four big printing plants. Besides its regular business of political agitation and organization, the Social Democratic Party carries on welfare work through 1,914 local committees scattered all over the republic.

Besides the material gains registered by the Social Democrats in the Diet election in Mecklenburg last month, in the municipal

election in the City of Brandenburg on the Havel on May 15 they increased their membership in the Board of Aldermen from 16 to 22 at the expense of the United Bourgeois bloc, which saw the number of its seats decrease from 21 to 14.

Through the inability of the Socialists, Communists and Democrats to agree upon a program in Thuringia, the Bourgeois bloc, which was defeated in the Diet elections on Jan. 30 last, has managed to form a new Government, after more than three months' delay, and is likely to control that State for some time. The new governing coalition reaches from the extremely reactionary National Socialists and German Nationalists to the Democrats and Centrists.

The fury of the German Nationalists over the ruthless forensic attacks launched against their domination of governmental affairs by former Chancellor Joseph Wirth and their efforts to silence his campaign for republicanism has precipitated a sharp conflict between Herr Wirth and Chancellor Marx. As a result the

Executive Committee of the Catholic Centre Party met on June 3 under the chairmanship of Chancellor Marx and mildly censured former Chancellor Wirth for his oratorical attacks on the German Government. Since there was no suggestion of inviting him to cease his strictures or leave the party, the action constituted at least a partial victory for the insurgent members of the committee. In a communiqué issued after the meeting the committee expressed "regret and disapproval" of the former Chancellor's speeches and his attitude toward the Marx Centre's titular head. While his colleagues were solemnly deliberating over his attacks on the Cabinet, which he considers unduly influenced by its Nationalist members, Wirth continued his campaign for republicanism against the Junker re-

action in the Rhineland, and at Aix-la-Chapelle declared that he was threatened with the loss of his Centrist mandate but had the feeling that he could find another without difficulty. What he implied was that he feared the party less than it feared him, and this seemed to be confirmed by the action of the Executive Committee.

That Foreign Minister Stresemann is strongly supported by the majority of the German people was evident on June 24 when the debate on the Reich's foreign poli-

cies was completed and the Government received the support of a greater percentage of the Reichstag than was ever the case in previous similar expositions. While the reactionary Völkisch Deputies and the Communists are sharply opposed to the present lines of foreign policy and the Nationalists and the Economic Union are only lukewarm in their approval, only the former two parties voted the lack of confidence in Dr. Stresemann moved by the Reds. All the other parties gave him their support.

OTHER EVENTS IN GERMANY—EVENTS IN AUSTRIA

GERMANY—The aims of the League of Nations will be made a part of the curriculum of the higher classes in the public schools of Prussia, as well as in the high schools, academies and colleges, under a decree issued on May 30 by Dr. Becker, Prussian Minister of Instruction. Explaining the order in a public address in Berlin, the Minister said:

Germany's entrance into the world organization demands that the schools explain the character, working methods and aims of the League. It is necessary that instruction in regard to the League be based on a sense of the dignity of our own people, a feeling of respect for other nations and a conviction that the interests of every country are advanced by membership in this world federation.

On June 27 the Reichstag ratified the German-Italian arbitration treaty which was signed by representatives of the two Governments last December. The Communists were the only party opposing this compact.

After five years of preparation, the bill for a new penal code, consisting of 413 paragraphs, was presented to the Reichstag by Vice Chancellor Hergt on June 21 for its first reading. The bill foresees careful study and investigation into the cause of a crime, and, in cases of insanity, proper medical care instead of a jail term, with the assurance that the demented person will not be allowed to roam abroad and endanger the lives and property of others. Judges are to have wide latitude in pronouncing sentences, and leniency is recommended except in dealing with repeaters. Youthful offenders will be heard in special juvenile courts.

The recently instituted Government inquiry into German taxation shows that the total Federal, State and municipal tax collections in the fiscal years 1925-1926 were 10,101,000,000 marks, or 161.85 marks per capita

of population. This contrasts with tax collections of 4,059,000,000 marks in 1913, or 70.21 marks per capita, reckoning on the present national area.

The so-called "minor tariff" law of August, 1925, which reimposed import duties on food and heavily increased the duties on automobiles, typewriters, cash registers, calculating machines and other similar products, expired on July 31. A bill to prolong it until January, 1930, and incidentally increase the duty on sugar 150 per cent., on potatoes 100 per cent. and on pork 50 per cent., was introduced in the Reichstag by Herr Schiele, Nationalist Minister of Food and Agriculture, and passed its second reading on July 8 with every possibility of becoming a law, in spite of bitter criticism from the Opposition, who denounced it as a Nationalist sop to the big agrarian interests.

Reports from German industry are very favorable. Many textile firms are already complaining of insufficiency of skilled labor. The cotton trade is doing best, cotton-spinning concerns being sold out for seven months ahead and other textile firms for four months. Shortage of yarn and unbleached cloth prevails to an extent which has admitted of considerable imports from Czechoslovakia and Alsace. The woolen branch is fully occupied with Autumn and Winter orders. The silk industry also is busy, though complaining of the effect of the rise in lira exchange on prices of raw material. One of the most favorable indications is a decline in unemployment, 124,000 being employed during the first half of May alone.

AUSTRIA—A group of Austrian industrialists are conducting an investigation to determine the cause of the business depression which has so long gripped their country and formulate plans

for the restoration of the once flourishing industries of the old empire. Many of the industrialists, while not unmindful that much of the commercial life of the Dual Monarchy came from what is now Czechoslovakia and Hungary, are inclined to believe that the disappearance of most of Austria's industries after the war was due to lack of salesmanship and international advertising. Austria has at present less than one hundred traveling salesmen, and these are not sufficiently well informed to compete with Germans, Americans and others. Before the war the factories and mines of old Austria employed more than 6,000,000 men, as against 1,000,000 today. In many cases there is no market at home or abroad for Austria's goods, and naturally Austrian business men decry this fact. With Austrian labor cheap they declare that Austrian products, especially fancy goods, fine leather goods and furniture,

which are produced at lower prices than anywhere else in the world, ought at least to command foreign markets. Already the investigators have discovered that, in addition to the lack of advertising and salesmanship, present production methods are antiquated and, therefore, wasteful of time and money; much of the machinery used is out of date, and the old systems of book-keeping and accounting still prevail. Consequently, the overhead in some instances is enormous. High freight rates constitute another disadvantage to the Austrian manufacturer, since Austria is entirely surrounded by competitive nations, has no port herself and no franchise in the ports of any other nation. The investigating committee will probably strongly urge the Government to enter negotiations with neighboring States to cut freight rates or to seek free port rights in some city on the Adriatic which is closest to the seat of production.

These will be hard things to accomplish, as none of the Succession States are feeling kindly toward Austrian industry, and there is stiff competition there to be overcome. However, a good chance of success in reducing freight rates lies in Germany, which desires to have Austrian trade pass through her ports, and has none of the feelings of antipathy against the Austrian Republic that exist in other quarters. Any concessions made by Germany now will be regarded as a strong aid toward "Anschluss" (the union of Austria and Germany), which Austrian industry is anxious to see effected.

The old feud between Hakenkreuzlers (composed of anti-Semites, Conservatives and old army officers) and Socialist and Jewish students has again broken out. The present fight began several months ago when the Nationalist organization, which includes a majority of university students and professors, introduced a number of regulations against



GERMANY HAS NEVER LIED

"I have told you that I have demolished all the fortresses. Ask Briand; he takes me at my word."

—Le Rire, Paris

Jewish students. The Socialist students protested against the regulations, and almost weekly riots occurred in the university grounds, with scores of casualties. Eventually the Socialist organization took its grievance to the Socialist City Government, charging the Rector of the university with aiding the

Nationalists. The Burgomaster ordered the police to protect the Socialists and to enter the university grounds to do so, thereby violating one of the oldest privileges of the university, which allowed the students to maintain their own discipline and forbade the police to enter the grounds. Even the Habsburgs never dared violate this privilege.

ITALY

Italy's Vigorous Deflation Policy

By ELOISE ELLERY

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, VASSAR COLLEGE; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

THE deflation policy which had been carried on with vigor by the Italian Government for some weeks, continued with no cessation. An important step in this direction was taken on June 14 in the decree approved by the Cabinet Council forcing landlords throughout Italy to reduce rents and practically forbidding them to evict their tenants. This decree was specially necessary, it was contended, in view of the existing situation. Wartime legislation had deprived landlords of the free use of their property. One of the first acts of the Fascist Government on coming into power was to abolish such restrictions, on the ground that they had prevented any incentive to build and were thus perpetuating the housing problem. The result of the abrogation was to give an erroneous impulse to residence building and to offer a temptation to landlords to demand exorbitant rents—a temptation to which they naturally were not slow in yielding.

The Government now asserts that far from showing the same alacrity in reducing rents as the gold value of the lira rose, the landlords have not even shown a decent moderation. It is also pointed out that the abuses practised by certain landlords were arousing in the poorer classes a spirit of discontent which might have been detrimental to Fascist interests. Hence the decision reported from the director of the Roman Fascist Federation to bring before the Fascist Disciplinary Council any Fascist landlord who speculates extravagantly in fixing his rents. Hence also the decision of the Government in the present decree. This decree, which practically brings the situation back to that of five years ago, provides that the rent of all small apartments

consisting of not more than five rooms shall be decreased 15 per cent., and all apartments of not more than eight rooms, 10 per cent. In addition, a maximum rental of not more than four times the pre-war rent has been applied to all apartments, houses and shops. The rental of shops is to be decreased in amounts varying from 10 to 20 per cent., the largest decreases being applied to shops selling foodstuffs and household necessities. Moreover, a landlord cannot increase his tenants' rents, nor can he, except in very special circumstances, evict them.

Reports as to the effects of the deflation policy and as to the financial situation in general were most divergent. According to Fascist statistics Italy, alone of all the nations engaged in the World War, has reduced its taxation in the post-war period. A few taxes have been reduced, while items such as inheritance taxes have been abolished completely. On June 15 the Cabinet Council directed that a "notable reduction of taxation" should be made, and the Minister of Finance, Count Volpi, was ordered to devise means for effecting it. Italy was able to point to an improved trade balance, owing to the heavy curtailment of imports, and to a balanced budget. It was also declared that the behavior of Italian industry during the recent period of revaluation had been satisfactory. Of the difficulties and hardships involved little was said, at least in the public press. Much was made, for instance, of the large wheat crop, as an evidence of improved methods of agriculture and of the success of the "battle of wheat" carried on by the Government. But it was also stated that wheat which was selling last year at 220 lire per quintal was selling

this year for only about 100 lire. One of the main difficulties comes from uncertainty as to the intention of the Government with regard to revaluation—an uncertainty resulting in stagnation in agriculture and industry. In this situation the announcement made by Count Volpi that the Government would make every effort to keep the exchange rate of the lira at the present level and that no attempt at further revaluation would be made for a long time, was greeted with much approval. In this statement, made in an interview printed by the *Popolo d'Italia* of Milan, a special organ of Premier Mussolini, Count Volpi was

quoted as saying: "I promised to look the situation over again in October. I can announce right away that nothing will happen in October. The lira will remain at its present level for a very long time. Every one can put his mind at rest."

OTHER EVENTS IN ITALY

NEW constructive work was initiated in Rome. A school designed to be the centre of studies for the control and prevention of malaria was opened on June 16 in the presence of a distinguished gathering. Work was also inaugurated on two subways—the first subway construction in Italy—one crossing the city north to south, and the other east to west.

The development of Italian aviation has occupied much attention in the public press during the last month. It received a special impetus by the triumphal return of de Pinedo from his 25,000-mile aerial journey. This journey carried him twice across the Atlantic and over unexplored regions in South America. He made a spectacular arrival at Ostia on June 16 at 5 o'clock in the afternoon—punctually to the moment when he was expected. He was greeted by huge throngs and met by Premier Mussolini in person, who offered him "the grateful, enthusiastic and affectionate welcome of the entire Italian people." Naturally the spectacular incidents of the flight were made much of, but its real importance, as stressed by the Italian press, lay in its technical value. The significant results were summarized as follows:

De Pinedo has now made two long-distance flights, for which is claimed a permanent place in the history of aviation. In all, they aggregate upward of 60,000 miles which, with the exception of the burning of the Santa Maria I at Roosevelt Dam, due to causes over which de Pinedo had no control, have been faced and overcome without any serious mishap. He has triumphantly proved his contention that a good aviator piloting a good seaplane can go anywhere in the world without any special preparation and with a fair degree of safety.

Naturally the brilliant performances of Lindbergh and Chamberlin in flying across the Atlantic have diverted from the end of de Pinedo's flight much of the international notice which it would otherwise have had. But as a matter of fact Lindbergh's and Chamberlin's flights, on the one hand, and de Pinedo's, on the other, in no wise overlap or obscure each other. The American fliers set out to show that it was possible to build a flying machine which, under suitable conditions and entrusted to expert hands, could fly the distance between New York and Paris or Berlin without need to refuel. De Pinedo instead sought to prove that it was also possible to build a flying machine capable of



THE FASCIST REGIME

Mussolini: "Italy, I present you with my successor."

—Il 420, Florence

standing up in all kinds of weather in all kinds of climate and under all kinds of adverse conditions.

He sought further to prove that it was possible to fly such a machine over the most impassable regions of the world in safety and to link up countries between which communications hitherto were extremely rare if not entirely non-existent. Both of these achievements deserve a place in the history of flying and will contribute much to the advancement of aeronautical science.

An important development in commercial aviation, perhaps not without significance in political relations, was the securing by Italian interests of an air route monopoly in Albania.

The trial of Gino Lucetti and two alleged accomplices accused of an attempt on the life of Premier Mussolini on Sept. 11, 1926, took place in Rome during the week of June 9 before a special military tribunal. Lucetti, it was charged, threw a bomb at Mussolini as the latter was passing in a closed motor car. Lucetti made a full confession and took the whole blame upon himself, doing his best to exculpate his supposed accomplices. The Crown Prosecutor maintained that Lucetti not only had at-

tempted to take the Premier's life, but that he was also plotting to overthrow the Fascist régime. After Lucetti's confession his attorney could only ask for clemency, his plea being that Lucetti was so under the influence of virulent anti-Fascist propaganda as not to be fully responsible for his actions. He was condemned to thirty years imprisonment, and his two accomplices to eighteen years and nine months, respectively. These sentences are the heaviest that could be imposed under Italian law.

A great demonstration was held in Naples on June 24 on the arrival of the bodies of two Neapolitan Fascists, who were slain in New York on Memorial Day by men believed to be anti-Fascists. All business was suspended and the day made the occasion of public mourning.

The University of Rome has conferred honorary degrees on President Nicholas Murray Butler and Professor John Lawrence Gerig of Columbia University.

The Fascist Party membership now exceeds 1,000,000, according to a recent statement in the *Foglio d'Ordini*, the official organ.

EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKANS

Results of Diplomatic Rupture Between Yugoslavia and Albania

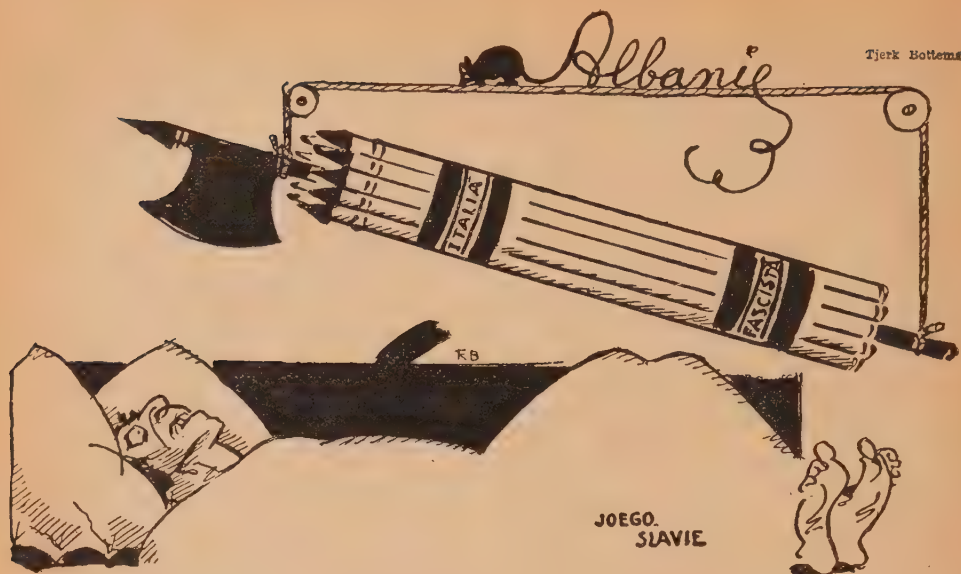
By FREDERIC A. OGG

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

IN the July issue of this magazine brief record was made of the diplomatic break between Yugoslavia and Albania on June 5, following the arrest of an attaché of the Yugoslav Legation in Tirana on a charge of espionage. The Yugoslav Chargé d'Affaires, with his staff, left Albania forthwith, and the Albanian Minister at Belgrade, Cena Bey, was handed his passport with forty-eight hours' notice. The latter official at first refused to go, even after ordered to do so by his chief, President Zogu. On June 15 he set out for Tirana, accompanied by other members of the legation, still protesting, however, that the circumstances did not warrant his recall and that, if allowed to remain at his post, he would have been able to bring about a satisfactory understanding between the two countries. The French Legation agreed

to protect the Yugoslav interests in Albania and Italy consented to act in a similar capacity for Albania in Belgrade.

Meanwhile both Albania and Yugoslavia laid their respective versions of the case before the League of Nations—the former immediately, the latter on June 12, on the eve of the forty-fifth session of the League Council. The Albanian defense was commonly thought to have been inspired by Italy. At all events, the Italian press openly denounced the attitude of Yugoslavia; and unquestionably the action of Belgrade played directly into Italian hands, especially because of its precipitateness and its uncertain justification. It did not fail to be noted that, whereas a few months earlier, when it seemed that Yugoslavia was in the right and Italy in the wrong, it was Belgrade that was anxious to have the case



The Sword of Damocles (Fascist Italy) Hanging Over Yugoslavia

—De Notenkraker, Amsterdam

heard at Geneva, now that Belgrade was, if not clearly in the wrong, at all events in the position of a defendant before the Council, Rome was strongly for going to Geneva. The case being one in which Italy was apparently not involved in any way, an excellent opportunity was afforded her to make gestures indicating deference to the authority of the League, and also willingness to act in concert with the other Great Powers in upholding European peace.

In laying their respective cases before the League, Albania emphasized that there was no connection whatever between the incident of the arrest and the Tirana treaty, while Yugoslavia minimized the importance of the arrest but declared that if the Council should be disposed to regard the incident, "in its relation to others," as grave, then Belgrade would be prepared to take it before that body, provided the Albanian problem in its entirety should be examined. The reference was, of course, to the Tirana pact—which neither Albania nor Italy cares to see called in question before the League Council or any other outside authority.

With a view to early settlement of the situation arising out of the arrest, and in order to keep embarrassment on both sides at a minimum, Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy proposed that, on the one hand, Albania should release the arrested dragoman and that, on the other, Belgrade

should recall its note in which the severance of diplomatic relations was announced; and on June 25 Albania was reported to have notified the four Powers of her willingness to accept the plan. Yugoslavia's acceptance was announced on July 3 with a new note from which all offending expressions were eliminated.

Indeed, on June 26 the press dispatches carried the interesting information that Foreign Minister Marinkovitch and General Brodrero, the Italian Minister at Belgrade, had begun the long-impending negotiations for the settlement of the recent differences between their Governments over the Tirana agreement. These negotiations at Belgrade were said to be parallel to similar discussions between Premier Mussolini and the Yugoslav Minister at Rome. Belief existed in some quarters that a settlement would be reached on the basis of an exchange of participation by Yugoslavia in the Tirana pact for ratification by Belgrade of the Nettuno conventions, which provide for privileges for Italians in Dalmatia.

Another striking piece of news coming from this portion of Europe at the middle of June was that Bishop Fan S. Noli, a Harvard graduate of 1912 and former Premier of Albania, had signed a Bolshevik manifesto intended to bring about a revolution in his native country and turn all the Balkan States into a federation of Soviet socialist

republics. Bishop Fan Noli was driven from Albania in 1924 by the head of the Moslem feudal clans, now President Zogu, and has ever since been conspiring on foreign soil (mainly at Vienna) to recover control. The manifesto, which was signed at Geneva, portrays the evils which Albania is supposed to have suffered at the hands of the feudal beys with Zogu at their head, describes the alleged machinations of Yugoslavia, Greece, Italy and England,

to destroy the independence of the country and ends with a Bolshevik political prescription outlining the contemplated Soviet State. The present Government is charged with suppressing all constitutional liberties, substituting an army of foreign mercenaries for the national troops, permitting universal official corruption and surrendering the interests of the nation at the behest of "Imperialist England and Fascist Italy."

OTHER EVENTS IN SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

POLAND—Relations between Poland and Russia, which have been repeatedly strained in recent years, were freshly endangered on June 7 by the assassination at Warsaw of the Soviet Minister to Poland, Peter Voikov. (Full details of the political consequences and reactions in both countries are given elsewhere in these pages.)

After one and a half years of negotiations an agreement between the Polish Government and a group of American financiers for a preliminary loan of \$15,000,000 was concluded on July 6. The loan will eventually amount to \$60,000,000.

RUMANIA—For the second time within little more than a fortnight, a Ministry fell from power at Bucharest, on June 21, without Parliament having anything to do with the event—a circumstance that will suggest to persons who think of Rumania as enjoying a cabinet form of government that cabinet government does not, at all events, mean the same thing in Rumania as in England, France, or republican Germany. As was recorded in the previous number of this magazine, Premier Averescu's Government was forced out by the King on June 4, for reasons that have never been convincingly and officially explained. The new Premier was Prince Barbu Stirbey, one of the richest men in the kingdom and long associated in the popular mind with his brother-in-law, the former Premier Jon Bratiano, as the more silent but not the less active member of a duumvirate that practically controls the country. The Stirbey Government was a coalition, consisting of representatives of the Liberal (really conservative) Party, of which the Premier had been a leader, and of the National-Peasant Party, whose greatest strength is in Bessarabia.

The first act of the new Government was to have Parliament dissolved and new elections ordered for July 7. Prince Stirbey then sought to effect an arrangement

whereby the two parties represented in his Cabinet should go before the country with a common list of candidates. He repeatedly said to representatives of the press that his Government would be short-lived, being, indeed, designed only to carry on until after the election. It was manifest, however, that great importance was attached to the securing of a parliamentary majority by the "Government," a necessary condition of which the Premier clearly considered to be the joint electoral action of the two parties in the Ministry.

Having, in point of fact, very little in common, the two political elements developed plenty of hostilities in the Cabinet; and eventually the National-Peasants, after a period of wavering, flatly refused to co-operate with the Liberals in the campaign. As a result, the Premier, with the support of his colleagues, decided to give up his efforts to maintain the coalition and handed his resignation to the King. He suggested that a temporary, non-political Ministry be appointed. But the Sovereign chose to call Bratiano again to the helm; and the latter, gathering about him a Ministry composed of Liberals who at one time or another had previously held portfolios, undertook to give the country a government that would last at least until the elections could be carried out.

The personnel of the new Cabinet was as follows:

JON BRATIANO—Premier and Foreign Minister.

VINTILA BRATIANO—Finance.

JON G. DUCA—Interior.

M. ARGETOIANU—Agriculture.

M. LETU—Education.

ALEXANDER LAPEDATU—Religion.

STELIAN POPESCU—Justice.

JONEL INCULETZ—Public Health.

NICOLAI LUPU—Labor.

M. ACLESU—Communication.

M. MOSOIN—Public Works.

GENERAL PAUL ANGELESCU—War.

M. MRAZEC—Commerce.

Thus was brought once more to the top,

in form as well as in actuality, that remarkable Rumanian "boss," Jon Bratiano (his brother Vintila became Minister of Finance); and thus was inflicted another defeat upon the National-Peasant Party, foremost supporter of the Bratianos' principal enemy, former Crown Prince Carol. It is not at all clear that, since Prince Stirbey had no Parliament to face and could himself as easily have supplanted the Na-

tional-Peasant Ministers with Liberals as did M. Bratiano, the Stirbey coalition Cabinet was not intended merely as a political manoeuvre by both Bratiano and the Prince, perhaps with a view to softening the fall of General Averescu in Western eyes. The elections for the Chamber of Deputies, held on July 7, confirmed the victory of Bratiano's Government, giving him control of 80 per cent. of the seats in Parliament.

RUSSIA

Russia's Reactions to the Murder of Voikov in Poland

By ARTHUR B. DARLING

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, YALE UNIVERSITY; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

THE rupture of diplomatic relations by Great Britain and the assassination in Warsaw of Peter Voikov, Soviet Minister to Poland, by a young Czarist émigré, followed closely by the bombing of a Communist meeting in Leningrad and the death of a police officer near Minsk in the wreck of a trolley car while transporting an alleged Polish spy, were in all probability merely coincidental; but they unnerved the Soviet officials and spread terror among the people. Rumors ran wild in Moscow that "bombs had been thrown in Kharkov"; that "the General commanding the Leningrad garrison had been slain by the Whites"; that there were "uprisings in the Ukraine near the Polish frontier"; that British cruisers had seized the harbor of Murmansk. Reports came in that enemies of the Bolsheviks had set dangerous fires in Baku, Samara and elsewhere. The whole country seemed about to writhe in the first convulsions of anarchy and bloodshed. And responsible for it all, of course the Soviet press declared, was the determination of the British to destroy the Soviet State!

The Red leaders could have no real desire for war with Great Britain, or with Poland for that matter, but they had to take some action, not so much to keep up pretenses before foreign Governments as to show the populace of the Soviet Union that they still had a firm grip upon the Soviet Government and that they would ruthlessly strangle any White plotter or any one else, if they could, who endeavored to break it. They therefore executed at once some

twenty political prisoners whom they had arrested from time to time on the charge of being White conspirators or spies of the British Government; they talked ominously of war with Great Britain and exhorted the people to get ready to defend their homeland; and they demanded an explanation and satisfaction from Poland for the murder of Voikov.

On June 7 Litvinov, Acting Commissar of Foreign Affairs, handed a note to the Polish Minister in Moscow, declaring:

Poland will be held responsible for any assassination. The Government of the Soviet Union considers this an unprecedented criminal act, bound up with a whole series of acts aimed at destroying diplomatic representation of the Soviet Union abroad and creating a direct menace to peace.

The raid on the Peking Embassy, the blockade of the Consulate at Shanghai, the police attack on the Soviet Trade Delegation in London and the provocative rupture of diplomatic relations on the part of Great Britain—all this series of acts has unloosed the activities of terroristic groups of reactionaries, who, in their blind hatred of the working class, are seizing the weapon of political murder.

The Union Government also sees in the murder of the Minister the result of the Polish Government's not having taken necessary measures against the criminal activities in Polish territory of Russian counter-revolutionary terroristic organizations, which are particularly dangerous to the cause of peace in the present intense international situation.

The Soviet Government has called the attention of the Polish Government to the activities of White Guard terrorists repeatedly and has warned the Polish Government of its responsibility for the provocative criminal acts of these elements.

Consequently, while indignantly protesting, and holding the view that the Polish Govern-

ment cannot repudiate responsibility for what has happened, the Soviet Government reserves the right to revert to the question after receipt of fuller and more exhaustive details bearing on the crime.

The Soviet Government, however, did not really wish to press matters so far, and when word came that Ulianov, Acting Soviet Minister at Warsaw, had received an immediate response in favor of his proposal that Soviet representatives take part in the investigation by Poland of the murder of Voikov, officials in Moscow gave out the impression that a breach with Poland was not likely to occur. The Soviet press continued to rage, but it aimed its accusations not so much at Poland as at Great Britain. The Government threw an armed guard about the Polish Legation and attempted to divert popular feeling into demonstrations before the British Legation and public meetings and processions in mourning for Voikov; for the Government believed at heart that the responsibility for the murder of Voikov rested with Czarist groups in London and Paris.

The next note from Litvinov, on June 9, to M. Zaleski, the Foreign Minister of Poland, was much softer in tone, and seemingly designed to indicate to Polish readers that Litvinov's first note was not to be taken too seriously. It was viewed in Warsaw as something of a withdrawal of the charges made in the first. In reply the Polish Government offered to compensate Voikov's family, although believing that the affair was in reality a matter of Russian internal politics, as the assassin, Korenko, was a Czarist Russian student at Vilna and not a citizen of Poland. The Polish Government also pointed out that the police protection which it had repeatedly offered to Voikov had been refused. This exchange of notes apparently ended the crisis. Russian anger seemed to be diverted almost complete-

ly from Poland to Great Britain. An official bulletin in Moscow charged the British with complicity in terrorist plots and outrages in the Soviet Union and asserted specifically that a Captain Riley of the British Air Force had confessed that he was sent on a terrorist mission to Russia under Winston Churchill's personal instructions.

And then came another note to Poland from Litvinov. He renewed his accusations and demands. Poland must take the necessary steps to investigate the assassination fully; it must follow up the ramifications of the plot and impose strict punishment on the guilty, especially the murderer. Ulianov, or another official Soviet representative, must be permitted to witness the inquest. Poland must take immediate and energetic measures to disperse terrorist organizations and persons in Polish territory whose activities were directed against the Soviet Union and expel all such organizations and persons from the country. Although the Soviet



THROWN OUT

Soviet Russia (at Germany's door and addressing England):
"We can go to other places where the officials treat us in a friendlier way."

—De Notenkraker, Amsterdam

Government, said Litvinov, was grateful for the friendly attitude of the Polish Government and people, the suggestion that the murder was the act of a madman could not be accepted. It was the result of Poland's harboring Soviet enemies in Polish territory: "Poland has neglected her duty in not expelling persons known to be carrying on acts hostile to the Soviet Union, which knew long ago that hostile organizations were actually planning the murder of the Soviet representative." The Soviet Government, however, would not take the compensation offered by Poland for the family of Voikov. Litvinov's persistent charges stirred resentment which the Polish Government did not attempt to conceal, but it refused to treat them as more than propaganda and went on with the trial of Korenko.

The decision of the Polish court was foreshadowed in the statement of Foreign Minister Zaleski that only an extraordinary tribunal could pronounce the death sentence and that in Poland "very great clemency" was always shown toward minors. On June

15, Korenko was found guilty by the court, without waiting for a special Soviet observer to arrive from Moscow, and was sentenced to life imprisonment; but, in view of his "youth and high moral character," recommendation was made to the President of Poland that his sentence be commuted to fifteen years' imprisonment. So comparatively mild a punishment raised the apprehension in many quarters that the next move of the Soviet Government would bring the two countries to the verge of war. Marshal Pilsudski on June 20 sent instructions to M. Patek, Polish Minister at Moscow, to reply in effect to Litvinov's second note as follows: "In attempting to humiliate Poland without reason, you only incur the risk of humiliating yourself, since you have not sufficient force behind your threats, which you know as well as we do. We have done everything reasonable to give you satisfaction, and now we must courteously urge that you let the matter drop, because if regrettable incidents follow, you alone will be responsible."

OTHER EVENTS IN RUSSIA

AS if a diplomatic break with Great Britain and strained relations with Poland were not enough to bedevil Stalin and his associates in control of the Soviet Government, the Opposition broke out once more with sharp criticisms. Trotsky and Zinoviev publicly blamed Stalin's Administration for the failure of the Communist cause in China. The Soviet Government, they said, was guilty of a *petit bourgeois* policy. The "Praesidium of the Central Control Committee of the All-Russian Communist Party" charged Trotsky and Zinoviev with

"continuous attempts to break party unity at a time of serious international complications" and recommended that they be dismissed from the party.

A report from Berlin on June 25 intimated that the Harriman interests were about to effect a combination with German interests which would remove competition in the exploitation of manganese mines in the Soviet Union. On the same day announcement was made in Moscow that the Soviet Government had granted modifications of the Harriman company's concession.

OTHER NATIONS OF EUROPE

Spain for the Spaniards

By JOHN MARTIN VINCENT

PROFESSOR EMERITUS OF HISTORY, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

THE Spanish Government is about to focus all its energies on the development of Spain into a first-class industrial and commercial power, worthy of its great past. Now that the war in Morocco, which has absorbed attention for twenty years, is practically over, the Directorate will make full use of the national

resources and man power until it has gained a place for Spain in the economic world commensurate with her resources.

From a special interview given by Premier de Rivera to a correspondent of *The New York Times* and from other reports received during the month of June, an outline of these plans can be deduced. First in line,

is the principle that Spanish industries shall be run with Spanish capital in control. This idea has met with acclaim in the business world, and the slogan "Spain for the Spaniards" has been followed by large purchases of railway stocks from foreign holders with capital now released from the fear of war. There is a movement to take over all foreign enterprises and encourage their owners to sell a majority of their stock to Spaniards and to place themselves under Spanish direction and technical advice. Special encouragement in the form of tax exemption is offered to concerns which will thus "naturalize" themselves; on June 7 the King signed a decree which provided that companies with Spanish nationals holding at least sixty per cent. of the capital, will be required to pay no taxes in the first year, only 25 per cent. of the tax in the second year, 50 per cent. in the third year, and normal taxes thereafter. The Government has also adopted a policy of spending large sums for public improvements and for subsidizing national industrial enterprises. Recently it was decided to issue bonds to the amount of 3,500,000,000 pesetas to carry out public works over a period of ten years, and already 200,000,000 pesetas have been lent to railways.

On June 28, the Government took another important step when it passed a decree establishing a monopoly of the petroleum industry and excluding foreign concerns from entering bids for contracts to lease; any leasing company must be Spanish, both in capital and organization. This ends for at least twenty years the battle that has been waged by American and British oil concerns to retain their hold on the Spanish market.

On being asked to explain this movement Premier de Rivera emphatically denied any intention to raise a Chinese wall around Spain, and said it was rather a determination to liberate the country from the economic exploitation of foreigners; that the time had arrived for Spaniards to take advantage of their own resources, turn their own raw materials into goods for the benefit of their own market, and sell to the rest of the world. He stated that at present foreign

capital is not needed, for though Spanish private capital might not be plentiful enough to buy complete control of foreign enterprises, there is enough for the projects now in sight. Speaking of commercial relations with the United States, the Premier expressed the utmost good-will and the hope that a satisfactory trade treaty between the two nations would be concluded before the 26th of next November, the time limit for the transaction.

The Spanish Government is taking concrete measures to encourage the growth of home industries. King Alfonso, before his departure for London, signed a decree providing for the purchase, for governmental uses, of one hundred automobiles made by the Apta company, which has just been established by Spaniards. During April, the Government passed two other decrees of similar intent, one giving certain tax exemptions to Spanish companies or companies employing a large proportion of Spanish materials, and the other providing drastic cuts in the cost of licenses for Spanish-built cars. The taxes on automobiles are also fixed greatly to the advantage of the Spanish manufacturer.

At the present time it is impossible for American banks to do profitable business in Spain. Banks have to pay a tax of .03 of 1 per cent. either on capital or profits according to whichever gives the more to the Government, and there is a second tax of .01 of 1 per cent. on all total capital in all countries, or on all total profits, according to which is most profitable to the national treasury. The latter hits the American concerns vastly harder than the Spanish institutions, which with their limited capital and few branches are subject to the first tax only. The British Government has made a treaty with Spain on a reciprocity basis, reducing the tax on all capital or profits to .0025 of 1 per cent., and a French treaty eliminates altogether the tax on capital as between the two countries. The United States, however, is not in a position to enter into a reciprocal arrangement with Spain for the abolition of taxes on capital because it has no control of direct taxation.

OTHER EVENTS OF THE MONTH

DENMARK—Disarmament in Denmark has been postponed. The disarmament bill which was proposed by the lower house of Parliament more than a year ago has been rejected by the upper house by a vote of 39 to 24. The project caused considerable

stir when it was introduced by the late Social-Democratic Government and carried in the Volkething in March, 1926. It provided for a reduction in military expenditures from over \$60,000,000 to \$17,500,000 annually. The army was to be replaced by

a military guard corps and the navy was to be only a guard for home waters and to inspect fisheries. General conscription for military purposes was to be abolished and the national fortifications were to be razed.

SWEDEN—Although its position was considerably weakened by repeated setbacks and compromises, the Government of Carl G. Ekman succeeded in avoiding an outright defeat before the end of this year's session of the Riksdag. Unless something happens quite unexpectedly the Ekman Ministry will now be safe until the two chambers meet again.

The fourth centenary of the Reformation in Sweden, decreed by the Riksdag of Vasteras in 1527, was celebrated in that ancient city.

The Swedish General Electric Company (the A. S. E. A.) has obtained a concession from the Soviet Government for a thirty-five-year operation of industrial works at Yaroslav, Russia. The same company recently secured an order for \$581,-

560 for electrical material for the British Southern Railway Company.

A 50,000,000 kronor Swedish State loan was oversubscribed the day of issue.

SWITZERLAND—Some concern is being manifested over the movement of population from the higher mountain valleys of Switzerland as observed during the last half century. Basing his opinion on the data given out by the director of the Swiss Association for Home Colonization and Agricultural Industry, a Zurich writer concludes that if it continues much longer future tourists will encounter only fellow-climbers, guides and hotel folks when they get above the 5,000-foot level.

In the rough higher regions modern agricultural machinery cannot be used to increase production, while the development of factories in the lowlands is putting the famed home industries of Switzerland practically out of business. Foreign competition has even reduced the profits of Alpine lumbering.

TURKEY AND THE NEAR EAST

"Constantinople" or "Mustapha Kemal"

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

THE great city by the Bosphorus has regularly borne the name of a distinguished man. Called Byzantium for a thousand years after its founding, the name but commemorated Byzas, the leader of the first colonizing group. All are familiar with the fact that the name Constantinople, in spite of the attempt of the second founder to call the city New Rome, awards the honor of accomplishing the city's greatness to that founder. In the Christian world Constantine's name is still applied, but the Turkish and Mohammedan world has, during the last five or six centuries, used the name Stamboul, which by one derivation is merely a condensation of the name Constantinople, and by another is a transformation of the Greek phrase, *eis ten polin*, which means "into the city." It is now once more proposed to give the city the name of a man to whom it is considered to owe much, this time without any suffixes or compounding of the word. St. Petersburg has become Leningrad. Con-

stantinople may become Mustapha Kemal.

During the eight years of Kemal's rise to his present controlling position, he did not once visit Constantinople, and various reasons were assigned for his abstinence, such as fear of assassination or a desire to punish the city for its opposition to some of the policies of the governing group in Angora. Therefore, when in June he announced his intention of paying the city an unofficial visit, great excitement was aroused. The President arrived in Constantinople on July 1, disembarking without ceremony from a yacht at the Dolmabahatcheh Palace, which he made his headquarters. The citizens of Constantinople showed themselves eager to impress the President with their profound loyalty to himself and his ideals, and prepared the nearest Turkish equivalent of the recent receptions of Colonel Lindbergh. There was a naval parade to see which the whole population lined the shores of the Bosphorus; modern touches were given by parades

of school children and the marching of brass bands. An old-time Turkish procession was formed by torchlight, in which citizens marched grouped according to their trades and professions. A yet older ceremony was the sacrificing of sheep at various points in the city immediately upon the arrival of the conqueror. The celebrants, however, wore derbies and tall hats and caps of Western mode instead of fezes or turbans, and the 50,000 extra lights festooned from the minarets and domes of the mosques were neither tiny olive oil lamps nor lanterns containing candles, but electric bulbs.

The great city which may adopt the new leader's name is in many respects different from the Constantinople of Kemal's student days twenty-five years ago. At that time it sheltered Sultan Abdul Hamid II, his Government and his garrisons. Albeit indolent and unkempt, the city yet bore itself with a dignity and pride drawn from sixteen crowded centuries of exaltation as the capital of an important share of the world. Its commercial importance was by no means insignificant. It possessed not only the local trade of thousands of officials, officers and soldiers, together with a considerable foreign community, but also the Bosphorus carried a daily procession of ships taking the oil, grain and minerals of the Black Sea region to Western Europe, and bringing

back in exchange a thousand commodities from the West.

The Sultan-Caliph is no more. The hordes of officials have dwindled to a few representatives of a distant Central Government in Angora and the local garrison has been reduced to modest dimensions. The foreign embassies still remain on the Bosphorus, but the groups of resident foreigners are likewise reduced in number. Business has diminished in proportion. Russia and Rumania are far from having yet resumed their former place in world trade, nor has the restriction of Turkish coasting trade to Turkish-owned vessels greatly redressed the balance. Moreover, the loss of its Greek and Armenian citizens has greatly crippled the trade of Anatolia, and no small amount of Constantinople's business has gone to Salonica, Piraeus and Patras.

Yet Constantinople hopes to come back, though there is no prospect that it will soon again become the capital of a great empire, nor can it hope to be the capital even of reduced Turkey as long as the Straits are open to the battleships of all nations. But it has vast possibilities as a tourist resort, a centre of local manufactures and a transit point for exchanging the goods of Asia, Africa and Europe. Its hope is for the beginning of a new era with the visit of President Mustapha Kemal Pasha.

OTHER EVENTS IN TURKEY AND THE NEAR EAST

TURKEY—On June 22 ratifications of a commercial treaty between Turkey and Germany were exchanged, together with an agreement regulating the rights of domicile of citizens of the two countries. On the following day announcement was made that a treaty of amity and peace had been concluded between Mexico and Turkey.

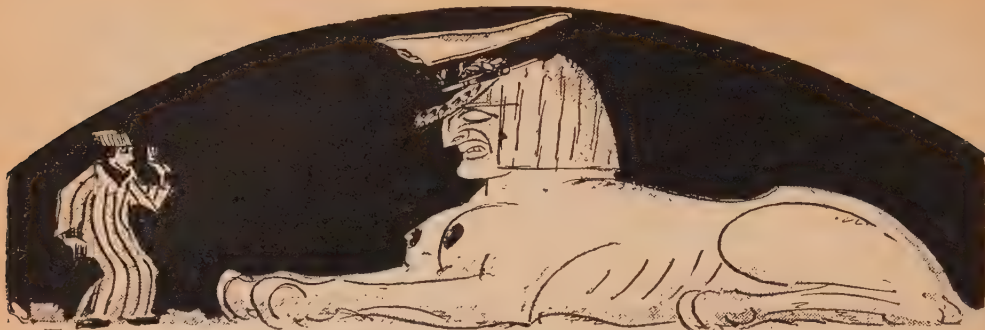
The Union of Turkish Women sent a delegation of five to Angora in the latter part of June, carrying a petition to the President to have a woman-suffrage amendment incorporated in the Constitution.

EGYPT—The crisis over the Egyptian Army was settled, at least temporarily, in the middle of June by an exchange of notes between the British and Egyptian Governments. Premier Sarwat Pasha's declaration in the Chamber of Deputies on June 16 revealed a compromise in the shape of a temporary agreement "to maintain the status quo in the army and in the frontier's administration, at the same time safeguarding the authority and responsibility of the

Ministry in these matters," the House applauding Sarwat's presentation. Though the contents of the notes were not made public, it is believed that Britain agreed to certain steps in reorganizing and enlarging the Egyptian Army, and that Egypt agreed to renewing the contract of the British Inspector General for three years, with full authority over the army and the title of Acting Sirdar; a British officer with the rank of Major General to be second in command, and the frontier districts and the coast guard to be under British command. Apparently there was also an arrangement made in conferences between Premier Sarwat, Lord Lloyd, Zaghlul Pasha, and the King that prompt steps would be taken toward a treaty between the two Governments which would place on an agreed basis the four points reserved in the Declaration of Egypt of 1922.

King Fuad, accompanied by the Prime Minister, reached London at the beginning of July for a prolonged visit.

Dr. Morton Howell, before leaving his



GREAT BRITAIN AND EGYPT

—De Notenkraker, Amsterdam

post as American Minister to Egypt, made certain farewell statements on different occasions which aroused considerable unfavorable comment from English circles in Egypt and at home. He is alleged to have criticized the special privileges enjoyed by foreigners in Egypt and the amount of control exercised there by Britain. Finally, at a tea party given in his honor by the Egyptian Temperance Association, he praised prohibition in America and condemned the situation in Egypt as follows:

"The matter of forcing opium and whisky down the throats of the people, unable to protect themselves by reason of treaties and legal obligations to which they are really in no wise parties, and from which they are unable, militarily or otherwise, to protect themselves, is nothing short of a crime. Such imperialism deserves the worst censure, both by God and man."

ARABIA—On May 20 a treaty between England and Arabia was signed by Emir Faisal, Viceroy of Mecca, son of King Ibn Saud, and Sir Gilbert Clayton, representing the King of England. The terms of the treaty had not yet been made public when these pages went to press.

The ceremonies of the annual religious pilgrimage, which took place this year in the first half of June, were attended by no fewer than 120,000 pilgrims arrived from overseas.

SYRIA—The Cabinet of the State of Lebanon resigned at the beginning of May, being unable to present to the Senate a draft law embodying financial, judicial and educational reforms, which had been requested of it by the Senate.

An accommodation was reached in the middle of June between the French authorities in Syria and the Druze refugees at

Qasr-el-Azraq, in Transjordan, numbering some 2,000 persons. The negotiations were aided by the British authorities. Those who submitted included the most influential members of the Atrash family. They were returning home and it was hoped that the Druze Mountain would remain at peace for a long time.

IRAQ—An income tax law was passed at the end of May under circumstances which aroused considerable criticism. The law, drafted by British advisers, was pushed through by the Minister of Finance, General Yasin-el-Hashimi. It was kept secret until presented to the Chamber of Deputies, which passed it in three sections after debates on three days. Its terms do not appear to be unduly severe. There is a levy of 3.63 per cent. on all incomes of over \$1,500 per year, applicable to individuals and to companies whether registered in Iraq or not. Farmers are exempted, nor is the income to be included which is derived from property which already pays taxes.

PERSIA—The Cabinet resigned on May 28 and a new one was formed on June 2, with the following members:

MEHDIGHOLI KHAN HADAYAT, the Mokhtar-es-Saltaneh—Prime Minister.

ALI KULI KHAN ANSARI, the Mushower-ul-Mamalek—Foreign Affairs.

MIRZA MOHAMED ALI AKBAR KHAN DAVER—Justice.

FIRUZ MIRZA FIRUZ, the Nusret-ed-Dowleh—Finance.

MIRZA HUSAIN KHAN SAMY, the Adib-es-Saltaneh—Interior.

MIRZA MOHAMED TADAYYON—Education.

JAFFAR KULI ASSAD, the Sardar Assad—War.

The Shah ordered the embargo on the entry of Russian goods into Persia to be lifted at the beginning of June.

The Nationalist Drive on Peking

By HAROLD S. QUIGLEY

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

WITH foreign recognition the anticipated prize of the capture of China's magnificent capital two Nationalist armies have pressed steadily toward Peking, one manoeuvring along the Peking-Hankow Railway, the other along the Tientsin-Pukow line. Fighting has been severe for the more westerly army but the troops of Chang Tsung-chang, Tupan of Shantung, retreated before the Eastern army without fighting.

Although two groups have continued to call themselves the Nationalist Government, one at Hankow, the other at Nanking, and although the public utterances of these two groups have sounded independent of and sometimes hostile to each other, their joint military activities have led to some doubt of the reality of the breach between them. General Feng Yu-hsiang took over command of the Western army at the front and conferred with Chiang Kai-shek, the Southern Commander-in-Chief, late in June regarding a joint program of action. One reported outcome of the conference, which took place at Süchow, was a demand by General Feng upon the Hankow Government for the dismissal of the Russian adviser, Michael Borodin, whom Western Governments credit with a large share of responsibility for the anti-Imperialism propaganda. News from British sources on June 30 indicated that Borodin was leaving that day and that steps were under way to bring the excessive influence of the labor unions to an end. Feng was reported as saying that "the Communist Party has the right to participate in the Kuomintang revolution according to Dr. Sun Yat-sen's principles, combining with all China's other interests, but not dominating the nation." Since the conference Feng holds the title of "Commander of the Northwest Kuominchun" and is regarded as subordinate to Chiang Kai-shek.

"Peace talk" was carried on between representatives of Chang Tso-lin, the Manchurian super-Tupan in control of Peking, and the young Nationalist leader, General Chiang Kai-shek. The Northern dictator was thought to have urged Governor Yen Hsi-shan of Shansi to mediate; Chang Tso-lin was to have the territory north of the

Yellow River, Chiang that to the south, the two to act in agreement against communism. It was understood that a number of Chang Tso-lin's advisers favored immediate withdrawal north of the Great Wall, a fact which led foreigners in Peking to urge the organization of a committee of safety, composed of leading Chinese not actively in politics, to be ready to take over the city Government during any interim that might occur between the departure of the Northern and the arrival of the Southern forces. A conference at Taiyuan, Governor Yen's capital, yielded no fruitful results, Chang asserting afterward that Chiang was at heart a communist. He also reiterated his request for foreign aid.

Japanese troops, reported as 2,000 men, were landed on May 31 at Tsing-tao, port of the former German-leased territory in Shantung. The Chinese Foreign Office sent two protests, one on June 1, the other about June 20, to the effect that the sending of troops to Tsing-tao was contrary to the Washington Agreement regarding Shantung and an unjustified violation of China's sovereignty. Very vehement objections were voiced by Nationalist officials and newspapers on the ground that the Japanese occupation might interfere with the campaign in Shantung.

At Canton a boycott of Japanese goods was declared, to take effect on July 1. The boycotting of Japanese goods at Shanghai began before the end of June and grew steadily more effective. Tokio dispatches on June 30 stated that press editorials were urging withdrawal of Japanese troops from Shantung in order to terminate the boycott.

Reports concerning the fighting in Shantung have been indefinite, scanty and contradictory, some announcing the capture of Tsing-tao, others a decisive defeat of the Nationalists. The last dispatches, on July 5, however, reported the steady advance of the Chiang armies.

With the Nationalist successes north of the Yangtze Secretary of State Kellogg reaffirmed to inquirers his willingness to negotiate with any group fairly representative of all China. The Nanking Government announced its intention to send a special

commissioner to Washington, and declared its legal, though not moral, responsibility for the Nanking affair and its willingness to make reparations for damages, which it recognized as the "work of elements taking shelter under the aegis of the Kuomintang." The officials of that régime so far announced are C. C. Wu, Foreign Minister; Ku Ying-fan, Finance Minister, and Wang Peh-chu, Minister of Communications. The Government needs funds and is attempting to float a loan of \$30,000,000 Mex. It has also raised the customs duties on luxuries from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 per cent., the rate agreed upon at the Washington Conference.

At Peking, Chang Tso-lin also made a gesture designed mainly for effect upon foreign Powers. His earlier creation of an alliance, the Ankuochun, with his principal Generals, was followed on June 18 by his assumption, with appropriate ceremonies, of the title "Generalissimo of the Forces for the Suppression of Communism." This amounted to a seizure of the position of dictator and gave him direct control of the Peking Government. The mandate organizing the "Military Government of the Chinese Republic" runs as follows:

Article I—The Generalissimo of the Army and Navy shall command all army and naval forces of the Chinese Republic.

Article II—During the existence of the military administration the Generalissimo shall represent the Chinese Republic in carrying out governmental functions and shall protect all rights which should be enjoyed by the people of the nation under the law.

Article III—The Military Government shall establish Cabinet officers to assist the Generalissimo in carrying out government affairs.

Article IV—The number of Cabinet officers shall be as follows: Premier, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Minister for Military Affairs, Minister of the Interior, Minister of Justice, Minister of Education, Minister of Industry, Minister of Agriculture and Labor.

Article V—Mandates of the Generalissimo shall be countersigned by the Premier, and those which affect the affairs of any of the various Ministries shall also be countersigned by such Ministers provided, however, that mandates appointing or dismissing Cabinet officers shall not come within this category.

Article VI—The organization of the personnel of the Cabinet and of the various Ministries shall be specially fixed.

Article VII—Such laws and mandates promulgated prior to June, 1927, as do not conflict with this mandate may be adopted. Pan Fu is hereby specially appointed Premier.

A new Cabinet was announced, consisting of the following:

PAN FU—Premier and Minister of Communication.

WANG YIN-TAI—Minister for Foreign Affairs.

HO FENG-LIN—Minister for Military Affairs.

SHEN JUI-LIN—Minister of the Interior.

YEN TSE-PU—Minister of Finance.

YAO CHEN—Minister of Justice.

LIU CHE—Minister of Education.

CHANG CHING-HUI—Minister of Industry.

LIU SHANG-CHING—Minister of Agriculture and Labor.

Governor Yen Hsi-shan declined to be represented in the Cabinet; all but two of the Ministers are Ankuochun men, Yao Chen and Hsia Jen-hu, Chief Secretary of the Cabinet, being members of the Anfu clique.

The issue of Chinese representation on the municipal council of the International Settlement at Shanghai was revived when the Chinese inhabitants declared their refusal to pay a 2 per cent. increase in municipal taxes, protesting that they could not be held for an increase which they had not participated in levying. American forces in North China were given on June 29 as follows: 2,900 marines at Tientsin, 500 at Peking, 1,800 men of the Fifteenth Infantry at Tientsin or along the Peking-Tientsin Railway, a total of 5,200 men. In addition there were 1,400 marines at Shanghai. They are well provided with airplanes and tanks. The Chinese Foreign Office protested against the landing of the forces at Tientsin, to which the American Minister replied that the forces were regarded as necessary and in accordance with the Boxer protocol.

JAPAN—The Japanese press continued to occupy much space with speculations on possible change in the program of the Government for the effectuation of its announced policy in China. Investigators were sent to China and the first of a series of conferences under Premier Tanaka's chairmanship and including as members the principal Foreign Office Secretaries, a number of Japanese officials in China and several Cabinet Ministers was held at the Foreign Office to consider the Chinese situation. At a meeting on July 7 the Premier stated his policy, the main points of which are as follows: Japan will not tolerate disorder in Manchuria, though it is ready to recognize any Chinese government capable of stabilizing the situation. Japan adheres to the Open Door policy and holds itself responsible for keeping Manchuria safe for foreign trade. The basis of Japan's China policy is the preservation of peace and mutual development of trade and prosperity. "Japan will not side with any faction and will respect the will of the Chinese people," said the Premier. "We will always be ready to cooperate with moderate elements."

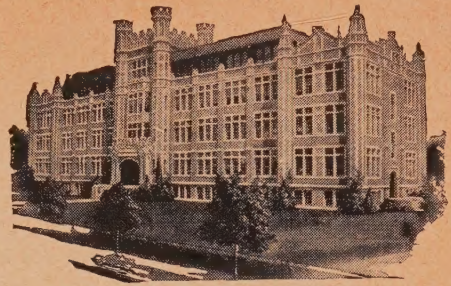
so why try to apply it to this country when it was not used nor suggested by the others?

(6.) Page 592, Footnote 11. Space did not permit proof being submitted. All that is necessary for skeptics, having an altruistic conception of European diplomacy before, during and after the war, is to study history from official documents of those nations. Many of these have been printed through popular demand but those kept secret would expose many a ghastly skeleton in chancellory closets. The United States declared war on Germany, was a victor and justly claimed damages for pre-war damages incurred by German action, but it did not claim reparations for war costs as did the other nations, except for the Army of Occupation, which occupied the Coblenz area at the request of the Allies and not through any wishes of its own.

(7.) Page 593. Four and one-quarter per cent. is the only figure of value in this case, as it was the cost of indebtedness to the American Treasury for war obligations when the British refunding was negotiated. Actuaries and economists are not prophets but must base their opinions on past records. The fact that this country has enjoyed an unprecedented era of prosperity since that time could not be foretold. The cost of money because of that prosperity has dropped considerably in this country, but the total cost for war indebtedness to the Treasury, including 3% per cent. and other low yielding bonds, is nearly 4 per cent. at the present time. It should be remembered that money rates at the time the advances were made were considerably higher in the American private market for foreign loans than the 5 per cent. Government advances. Money in the Allies' own countries was at a higher figure still. Interest was not charged on war advances as stipulated by their bonds and I. O. U.'s, but greatly reduced, and in some cases no interest is being charged at all. The American Treasury is paying it from American taxation.

(8.) Page 593. Britain did have money to pay for purchases in this country and had sufficient dollar holdings to do so. British investments in American bonds and stocks, together with her other holdings here, were equal to or greater than her total American net purchases. Had the British Government issued bonds to British holders of American securities and property in exchange for them and then sold these on the American market, more than sufficient funds would have been provided to meet her negative trade balance with the United States. But by this method profit-producing securities of a foreign country would have left Britain, and her debt to her people would have been increased instead of creating a debt to this nation, which might possibly be cancelled or reduced. I have not endeavored to blame them for their actions, it was natural; but it was and will be for the next fifty-seven years a burden to the American taxpayer.

(9.) Britain borrowed \$48,000,000 from the American Treasury to pay for transportation services rendered by this country, but we paid cash to the British Government for nearly double that amount for similar services rendered by Britain. In keeping with the policy of reciprocity used by the other Allies, both should have been done on a credit basis or both should have been paid for by cash, not through borrowed credits, which might be evaded or cancelled. The "but" and "cash" are in keeping with the facts, as Britain re-



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Wide World

THE HERO OF SOUTH AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE
Statue of Simon Bolivar (1783-1830) in Central Park, New York City